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LORD CURZON IN INDIA

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Lord Curzon in India

BEING A SELECTION FROM HIS SPEECHES AS VICEROY & GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA

1898–1905

30098

WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES AND AN INDEX

AND

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

SIR THOMAS RALEIGH, K.C.S.I.

LEGAL MEMBER OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S COUNCIL, 1899-1904

'We are ordained to walk here in the same track together for many a long day to come. You cannot do without us. We should be impotent without you. Let the Englishman and the Indian accept the consecration of a union that is so mysterious as to have in it something of the divine, and let our common ideal be a united country and a happier people.'

Speech at Calcutta, Feb. 15, 1902

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I

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PREFACE

THESE volumes contain a selection from the speeches on India and Indian subjects that were delivered by Lord Curzon from the time that he was first appointed to be Viceroy and Governor-General in August 1898, until his return to England from his second term of office in December 1905. The number of speeches actually made by him during this period amounted to over two hundred and fifty, for in India the Viceroy is, by long custom, almost the solitary speechmaker of the Administration; and it is clear, therefore, that a selection of less than sixty of these must leave large groups of subjects untouched.

In choosing, an attempt has been made to subserve the general object of this book, which is to provide a key to the problems of modern Indian government, as well as a synopsis of Lord Curzon's administration; and accordingly speeches or parts of speeches relating to subjects of local or ephemeral interest have been omitted, and attention has been invited in preference to those utterances that explain the principles by which the Government of India is actuated in approaching its stupendous task, and the concrete manner in which, in

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Lord Curzon's time, it endeavoured to carry them into execution. He himself lost no opportunity of taking the community into his confidence, both as to the objects and the details of his policy, holding that there is nothing from which the Government of India suffers so much both in India and in England as public ignorance, and that even the government of a dependency is best conducted by a free and frank interchange of opinions with the governed. While this method to a certain extent challenged popular criticism, it left the Indian public better informed than they had ever previously been as to the aims and acts of their rulers, and ended by furnishing what may be described as a handbook to the recent history and government of India more complete and authoritative than can be found in any contemporary publication. From this point of view the present work may possess a value independent of any personal interest attaching to it, since, if a reader desires to know what, for instance, is the policy of the British Government in India with regard to frontiers or foreign or military affairs, in respect of education, famine, taxation, currency, irrigation, or the Native States, he can ascertain it from these pages. Simultaneously, Lord Curzon, both in India and England, was perpetually reiterating the fundamental principles of British rule in India, and some of his speeches on this point have already been introduced into the curriculum of English schools; while many of the projects with which he was particularly identified will here be found explained in his own words.

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It should be remembered that a Viceroy of India speaks under conditions very different from those which prevail in England. He cannot ascend a platform whenever he pleases to give a vindication of his policy. Public banquets are few and far between, and the majority of his speeches, unless they refer to particular Bills in the Legislative Council, are made in reply to deputations or addresses, or upon formal or ceremonial occasions. The only opportunity presented to him in the year of expounding the general policy of his Government is in the annual Budget debate in the Legislative Council at Calcutta; and Lord Curzon's seven speeches on those occasions, which are reproduced in this collection, are in reality the most serviceable guide to his administration. Furthermore, the character and tone of a Viceroy's speeches are necessarily affected by the fact that he often appears as the representative of the Sovereign quite as much as the head of the Government, and is consequently subject to easily recognised limitations.

The method adopted in printing the speeches has been determined by the description already given of the general character of this work. They are arranged under various headings, in chronological order, and passages relating more particularly to those headings have been transferred from speeches dealing with a multiplicity of topics where they might otherwise have been overlaid. For the many subjects that do not find a separate heading, reference must be made to the Index, which has been compiled with intentional fulness.

In order to supply a general view of the system of

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government that will be seen at work in this book, as well as a connected account of the administrative task undertaken by Lord Curzon and his colleagues during the past seven years, an introductory chapter has been written by Sir Thomas Raleigh, who was Legal Member of the Governor-General's Council from 1899 to 1904.

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INTRODUCTION

Appointment

In August 1898 Mr. George Curzon, then Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was appointed to succeed Lord Elgin as Viceroy and Governor-General of India; in November the Viceroy-designate was gazetted Lord Curzon of Kedleston, in the peerage of Ireland. In December he left for India; he took over charge from Lord Elgin at Calcutta on the 6th January 1899.

The horizon of the incoming Viceroy was not free from clouds. On the north-west frontier the Tirah campaign was still fresh in the memory of the tribes; large garrisons of British troops were still cantoned in posts beyond our own frontier, at Chitral, at Lundi Kotal, and in Waziristan; and no decision had been arrived at for the settlement of the frontier tracts. In British India a considerable part of the population was slowly recovering from the effects of the famine of 1897; and the crop reports indicated that the resources of Government might soon be taxed to meet the danger of recurring scarcity. Plague, an old enemy, had appeared again in Bombay in 1896, and the weekly return of deaths from that cause had already become a subject of grave alarm.

Indian problems were not presented to Lord Curzon's mind for the first time when he landed at Bombay. Since his election to Parliament in 1886, he had served as Under-Secretary for India in 1891-92, and had made a

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prolonged and careful study of our policy in the East. In three books, *Russia in Central Asia* (1889), *Persia and the Persian Question* (1892), and *Problems of the Far East* (1894), the results of prolonged inquiry on the spot were communicated to the public at home. He had visited India four times; and he may fairly claim to have known the capacites of his ship when he took his station on the bridge.

It is not unimportant to remark that, though previous Governors-General had served and held office as members of the House of Commons, Lord Curzon was the first who may be said to have won his way to that position by service in the popular Chamber. He took with him to India the habits of an assembly in which the man who desires to have influence must earn it by proving his practical knowledge of affairs. Throughout his administration his attitude was often that of the parliamentary minister, who explains his measures, invites the approval and assistance of the people, and defends his policy vigorously when it is attacked. At the same time, Lord Curzon made no concession to the views of those who think that popular government, in the European sense of the term, can be introduced into India under existing conditions. He knew that for a long time to come the Government of India must remain in the hands of officials, appointed and controlled by the home authorities; but he was determined that the officials should be competent, vigilant, and, above all, sympathetic with the Native population.

Before proceeding to take up the questions argued and expounded in these Speeches, it may be well to say a few words of the constitution which the Viceroy of India is required to administer, and of the limitations under which his work is done. From the English point of view, the Viceroy stands for the administration. He is often the only Indian official whose name is familiar to the public at home; it is generally known that he can, in a case of emergency, outvote his Council, although in the last thirty years there is only one recorded case of this

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having been done. He is credited with all the successes and blamed for all the failures of his Government. His own opinion often carries decisive weight, but in framing his measures he must cultivate the art of compromise. The mastery of a good Viceroy consists not merely in carrying his own proposals, but in the skill with which he can harmonise conflicting opinions and bring matters to a practical issue. Lord Curzon has referred more than once to the harmonious working of the Council in his time, and in this case it is right to give the Viceroy the chief share of the credit. The popular notion that a strong Viceroy reduces his Council to a nullity is not borne out by my experience as one of Lord Curzon's advisers.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

In the daily business of administration the Governor-General is assisted by his Executive Council. At the time of Lord Curzon's arrival, six of the seven Departments of Government were assigned to the five Ordinary Members of Council, appointed by Her Majesty on the advice of the Secretary of State. Before he left India, Lord Curzon had obtained the consent of the Secretary of State to the appointment of a sixth Ordinary Member; the New Department of Commerce and Industry was then created, and a better distribution of the work was thus rendered possible. The Commander-in-Chief, Sir William Lockhart, was an Extraordinary Member of Council, appointed by the Secretary of State.

At meetings for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations, the Council is reinforced by the presence of additional members, not less than ten nor more than sixteen in number: at least half of these must be persons not in the civil or military service of the Crown. At a full meeting the members present include—(1) a few gentlemen qualified by rank or personal distinction, and nominated by the Viceroy to represent particular communities and interests; (2) officials, recommended by Heads of Provinces; (3) a contingent of gentlemen,

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usually natives of India, selected by the non-official members of Provincial Councils; (4) one member recommended by the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce. The Legislative Council thus composed can hardly be described as a "fierce democracy," but, as some of these Speeches will show, it is large enough, and representative enough, to secure an independent expression of opinion on Bills which excite interest out of doors. The Native members in particular do not hesitate to criticise the Government with the utmost freedom. Strangers are admitted, and the proceedings are fully reported in the press. Hon. members are seated at a long table, and the member who is speaking does not rise from his place; when the member in charge of a Bill has stated his case, the President calls on those who wish to speak in their order, beginning with the junior member. These arrangements may sometimes limit the scope of debate, but they conduce to decorum; each is heard in his turn; the member of Government responsible for the measure under discussion is entitled to reply, and on important occasions the Viceroy sums up the debate.

Local Governments

If India, as we define it, were divided into five equal parts, three of these parts would be included in British India—the territories governed by His Majesty through the Governor-General and the officers subordinate to him. This vast area is now divided into twelve Provinces; the heads of local administration are, the Governors of Madras and Bombay; the Lieutenant-Governors, whose number has been increased to five by the partition of Bengal; and five Chief Commissioners. The efficiency of our system depends to a great extent on the maintenance of good relations between central and local authorities. It is for the Government of India to lay down the lines of general policy; but, within its own limits, each local Government claims and enjoys a considerable measure of independence.

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Independence does not exclude, or ought not to exclude, conference and co-operation. Lord Curzon found the provinces living, as he said, in water-tight compartments; each working out its own system, and paying too little attention to the methods of its neighbours. It was part of the Viceroy's policy to encourage comparison of results and exchange of ideas as between one province and another.

For the Government of India there remained the task of co-ordinating the information thus obtained, and of indicating the lines of general policy. To do this with good effect it was desirable, and indeed necessary, to provide the Government of India with expert assistance. In point of general capacity, the members of the Indian Civil Service can hold their own with any service in the world. But they are sent to India at an early age; they seldom have the opportunity to make themselves specialists; they do not possess the detailed acquaintance with scientific and administrative methods which is gained by service in a highly-organised office at home. Lord Curzon therefore indented on Whitehall for specially trained officers, whose duties were to be, in the main, of an advisory nature. The Chief Inspector of Mines was to show us where our Indian practice was defective, and how it might be brought up to the English standard. The Director-General of Education was not to supersede the heads of the Education Service; his duty was to inquire and to suggest, to show us how methods might be better co-ordinated and results more accurately compared. Railways, which had previously been controlled by a Department of Government, were placed under a Board of three experts, one of whom was brought from England. Other branches of administration were treated in a similar way; and there can be no doubt that the changes carried out by Lord Curzon represent a very solid addition to the benefits which our rule has conferred on the people of India. Agriculture, commerce and industry, criminal intelligence, public health, architecture, and archæological inquiry have profited, and will continue to

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profit, by the changes which he introduced into the mechanism of Government. Changes of this kind are not introduced by a stroke of the pen; they involve much expenditure of personal energy, and anxious consideration of ways and means.

THE CONGRESS

I need not say that the Indian National Congress, though at first inclined to welcome Lord Curzon as a reforming Viceroy, ended by taking an unfavourable view of his activity in India; and the English reader may be surprised to find that there is no reference to that body in the Speeches now published. Of the Congress I wish to speak with due respect; it is strong in talent and in good intentions, and it expresses faithfully the opinions of that section of the Hindu community which sees in the concession of political rights the main object of Indian ambition and English duty. When the Indian student has read his English history, and has learnt something of other parts of the British Empire, he asks, quite naturally, whether the principle of self-government may not with advantage be applied to his own country. The practical administrator is conscious of certain difficulties. English history is indeed an object-lesson in self-government, as understood by a homogeneous nation. If you take the average Englishman—peer, professional man, or artisan—you are safe in assuming that he accepts certain general beliefs as to the mode in which his country should be governed. India, on the other hand, is the least homogeneous country in the world. If the English reader wishes to understand the Speeches in these volumes, he must endeavour to realise the variety and complexity of the social system over which the Viceroy of India presides. The eloquent Bengali or Mahratta, who finds his appropriate sphere of action in the Congress, is entitled to a fair hearing, but he is only one of many types of Indian character and sentiment. The English official, as he goes his daily round, is brought into contact

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with men of a very different stamp—Mohammedan gentlemen, trained perhaps at Aligarh under the influence of Sir Syed Ahmed; Chiefs of ancient lineage, who cling to the traditions embodied in that wonderful book, the *Annals of Rajasthan*; Hindu administrators who have made the fortune of the more prosperous Native States; and large numbers of educated native gentlemen who take no part in agitation, though they are keenly interested in social and industrial reform. These men are not merely factors, they are governing factors in the politics of India; and there are many of them who regard the Congress with feelings which vary from amused indifference to active disapproval.

There are, as it seems to me, several reasons why the Viceroy of India should decline, under present circumstances, to enter into direct communication with the Congress. In the first place, that body is engaged in a premature and unwise attempt to domesticate English political ideas in India. In the second place, the pretensions of the Congress are out of all proportion to its true significance. It claims to represent three hundred millions of people, 99 per cent of whom have never heard of its existence. There is also a third consideration, which perhaps was not present to the mind of Sir Henry Cotton when, as President of the Congress, he proposed to lay the Resolutions of that body officially before the Viceroy. Rightly or wrongly, the Congress has chosen to identify itself with one political party in England. It is with us a cardinal rule of statesmanship that Indian questions ought not to be treated as party questions in the House of Commons. No Viceroy, whatever his personal politics may be, can depart from that established convention without setting a precedent which might seriously embarrass his successors.

The Congress is doing good service in so far as it helps us to concentrate attention on certain facts which ought never to be absent from our minds. There are in India millions of men—patient, industrious, law-abiding—who cannot count on obtaining an adequate subsistence

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from the soil. Our first care must be, to give them a larger measure of comfort, to increase their power of self-help and self-protection. When we turn to the educated classes of this vast native population, we find that the instruction we provide for them has stimulated ambition, and in some cases has awakened a feeling of discontent, while at the same time our system of administration affords only a restricted scope for the employment of natives in the higher ranks of our services. These are the facts of the situation; and no Viceroy has faced them more sympathetically or more candidly than Lord Curzon.

Budget Speeches

Under the Indian Councils Act of 1892, the annual financial statement is explained in the Legislative Council: each member is at liberty to offer any observations he may wish to make, but no member is allowed, in a Budget debate, to propose a resolution or to divide the Council. The Finance Member has the right of reply, and the discussion is closed by the President. In practice, this debate ranges over the whole field of administration; the critics of Government put forward their demands for reduced taxation and increased expenditure; while the Viceroy has an opportunity to take stock of the measures for which he is responsible, and to indicate his plans for the future.

The Budget speeches included in these volumes will show how carefully Lord Curzon counted the cost of the reforms which he advocated. His financial position was, on the whole, a fortunate one: when he went to India the period of recurring deficits and unstable exchange was just coming to an end. In March 1899, Sir James Westland was able to budget for a substantial surplus, and the accounts of the five following years show surpluses averaging about 3 millions sterling. The revenue rose from 68½ millions sterling in 1899, to 83 millions in 1904. The debt increased during the same period by 16 millions, but against this must be set a

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capital expenditure of more than 20 millions on remunerative undertakings.

It would not have been prudent to begin by reducing taxation. Famine was impending; the equipment of the Army was defective; and the civil administration, hampered so long by want of funds, must be restored to efficiency. In 1900 Mr. (afterwards Sir Clinton) Dawkins had to meet a large famine expenditure; but, with the support of the Viceroy, he had signalised his year of office by passing the important measures which introduced a gold standard into India, and practically fixed the value of the rupee. Sir Edward Law completed the work of currency reform by setting aside the profits of coinage to form the gold reserve fund, which now affords a permanent guarantee for stability of exchange. To carry out a scheme of this nature in India, it is necessary not only to adhere to sound principles, but to command the confidence of the business community. And here the Viceroy's aid was invaluable, for he looked at finance from the statesman's point of view, and he stated the case for Government in language which every business man understood.

In 1902 the Government was able to relieve those districts which were still suffering the effects of famine, by writing off land revenue to the amount of £1,320,000: a searching inquiry, conducted in the previous year, had provided an authoritative exposition of the rules under which this branch of revenue is collected, and had indicated the expediency of lenient methods of assessment and elasticity in collection. The results of that inquiry are recorded in a Resolution which bears traces of Lord Curzon's handiwork. I observe with regret that this important state paper appears to be unknown to some of those sincere but not always well-informed English politicians who interest themselves in the welfare of the people of India.

It was not until 1903, the year of the Coronation Durbar, that Lord Curzon was able to announce a reduction of taxes. The salt tax was then reduced by

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eight annas per *maund*, and the limit of exemption from income tax was raised. Salt tax remains one of the permanent props of our Indian finance, but the low duty (which was further reduced in 1905) is welcomed by all who know what cheap salt means to the poor. The effect of this twofold reduction was a sacrifice of revenue to the amount of £2,500,000 per annum. The critics of Government relied, by way of set-off, on the expenses of the Durbar, which amounted to about £200,000, or one-sixth of a penny per head of the population. The incidence of taxation is a subject which the Government of India is constantly studying: we still have many problems to solve, but there is no foundation for the statement, so freely made on English platforms, that the people are being crushed to the earth by oppressive increase of their burdens, or by wanton additions to the expense of Government. The incidence of taxation in India, as Lord Curzon has more than once explained, is among the lightest in the world.

Agrarian Legislation

Taxation is not the only burden which the peasant has to carry: from time immemorial he has been always, or nearly always, in debt. If he has a bad year, or if he wants a small sum for a marriage or a funeral, he goes, as his fathers went, to the money-lender, who speaks him fair, and produces the rupees. His relations with his own *buniya* are often ancestral, and not unfriendly, but there can be no doubt that the position of the debtor has been altered for the worse by the introduction of our property law. The peasant only asks to live by his land: he may be no more than a kind of tenant-at-will, working for his creditor; but he is not aware of the fact until the *buniya* goes to the judge and gets a decree which makes him owner of the land. Indebtedness is part of the course of nature, but to lose the land is to lose everything.

In the Punjab an inquiry, conducted by Mr. Thorburn,

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had shown that the land in certain districts was passing away from the hereditary holders and into the hands of their creditors. Was it expedient, and was it possible, to provide a remedy? To this question the officials and others who were consulted returned various and conflicting replies, but the prevailing opinion was in favour of legislation. A short and tentative Bill was drawn, and in the summer of 1900 an exceptionally strong committee devoted several weeks of labour to the completion of the scheme. The Punjab Land Alienation Act proceeds on the assumption that the hereditary cultivator must be assisted to keep his land, and this has been effected by restricting his freedom of alienation, by prescribing forms of mortgage suited to local conditions, and by investing the Deputy Commissioner in each district with powers of revision and control. The supporters of the Act did not deny that it was an experimental measure. If I may judge from the annual reports of its working, the experiment has been a success. The Viceroy's speech on the passing of the Act contains his answer to those who deprecated all interference with rights of property.

If the peasant is to free himself from the load of debt, it is not enough to strengthen his hold on the land. He must learn to save, and to co-operate with his neighbours in the use and management of money. The problem here encountered was one of extreme difficulty; but many minds were at work upon it. Able civilians, who had studied Raiffeisen and Schulze-Delitzsch, had advocated the introduction of "agricultural banks" into India; some had even started co-operative schemes on their own responsibility. Founding themselves on the report of a departmental committee, the Government of India resolved to attempt a general scheme, and their proposals were ultimately passed into law in March 1904. In closing the debate on the passing of the Co-operative Credit Societies Act, Lord Curzon was able to congratulate the Council on having reached the final stage of a measure which had been received with unanimous

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approval, and which, if successfully pursued, will be of lasting advantage to the cultivating classes.

ARCHÆOLOGY

In the course of his official tours, Lord Curzon startled the apathy of certain local authorities by telling them that the conservation of ancient monuments was one of the primary obligations of Government; long before he left India, he had secured their enthusiastic support. This obligation had been acknowledged, in general terms, but, with rare exceptions, it had not been adequately performed. The Viceroy's address to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1900 contained the promise of a new period of effort; and the speech delivered on the passing of the Ancient Monuments Act in 1904 will give some idea of what Lord Curzon was able to accomplish in his time. His own share in the work was by no means limited to the delivery of addresses, or to the issue of general orders. I never visited an ancient building in India without finding that the Viceroy had been there before me, measuring, verifying, planning out the details of repair and reconstruction, labouring to inspire his local subordinates with his own passionate reverence for the historic past.

In reporting to Council on the restoration of the Moghul palaces and tombs, Lord Curzon mentioned with satisfaction that the skilled workmen of Agra had lent themselves to the enterprise "with as much zeal and taste as their forerunners 300 years ago." He was not content to revive the memory of the past; he desired also to impress his Indian friends with the conviction that their country still possessed, in the craftsmen of her villages and towns, a body of men who would rival the best work of their ancestors, if they received the necessary stimulus and encouragement. When the Coronation Durbar was being planned, no part of the scheme owed more to the Viceroy's care and thought than the Art Exhibition. He spared no pains to make it a genuine

product of native skill and taste; and under his direction every corner of India was ransacked for the best examples of metal-work, textile fabrics, and wood-carving.

To a Viceroy of this way of thinking, the modern public buildings of India can present but few attractions; but Lord Curzon was as deeply interested in their style and construction as in the conservation of ancient monuments. A French writer, shocked by our jerry-built offices and Courts, has declared that when the British Empire disappears, it will leave no monument, except some heaps of empty tins. Lord Curzon did what he could to remove this reproach. He persuaded the Secretary of State to give him an architectural adviser; and the public buildings erected at Calcutta and Simla in his time bear testimony to this revival of interest. Before many years have passed, Calcutta will also contain the most splendid and enduring monument of these aspirations, the Victoria Memorial Hall, a structure of white marble, now being erected on the Maidan, to commemorate the first Queen-Empress of India, and to serve as a Gallery of Indian history and art. The foundation stone was laid by the Prince of Wales in January 1906. The speeches in which Lord Curzon explained the purpose and design of the building are included in these volumes.

Chiefs and Princes

As I have stated above, three-fifths of India are directly administered by His Majesty, acting through the Governor-General and his subordinates. The remaining two-fifths are included in the Native States. The territories of a Native State are not British territory; the inhabitants are not British subjects. Legislative authority is exercised by the ruling Chief in his own Durbar or Council; the courts of the State are in no way subject to our High Courts, nor does an appeal lie from them to His Majesty in Council. The expression "Chiefs and Princes" includes some hundreds of more or less independent rulers, who vary in importance from the

Nizam of Hyderabad to the Rana of a small State in the hill country or an independent landholder in Kathiawar. The external relations of these States, and their relations with one another, are controlled by the Government of India. The leading Princes of India represent the historic families, Hindu and Mohammedan—rivals or allies of the Company in the period which ended with the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, and the deposition of the Moghul King of Delhi. They accept the authority of the Paramount Power; but they retain a strong sense of their historic position. Lord Curzon struck the right note when he claimed the ruling Chiefs as his "colleagues and partners in the task of administration." That is exactly what the best of them wish to be, and are. Only those who have studied the affairs of a well-governed Native State can realise how much a capable and honest ruler may do to promote the welfare of the millions who look to him as their hereditary guardian.

If the opportunities of a young Chief are great, so also are his temptations. Surrounded from his infancy by dependants, he may give way to habits of self-indulgence and self-will. There are two influences which help to keep him steadfast in his work. One is, the sentiment which prevails among his brother Chiefs, and the standard of duty which the good Chiefs have set before themselves. When Lord Curzon invested a young Maharaja or Nawab with the symbols of authority, he always took occasion to remind him that his powers and his revenues were conferred upon him in trust for his people. In language which appealed to the traditional sentiment of the great houses, he pointed out that the life of one who aspires to rule his fellow-men must be a life of strenuous labour, dignified self-restraint, "dispassionate zeal."

There is also the influence of education, and in this field Lord Curzon found ample scope for his energies. In discussing the position and the possible future of the Chiefs' Colleges, and in creating and watching over the Imperial Cadet Corps, he was doing his utmost to train

up a succession of young men whom the Viceroys of a later time will gladly recognise as "colleagues and partners" worthy of their trust. The Chiefs' Colleges are not very old; but they have existed long enough to discover that their progress must, for a time, be slow. India is a country where distinctions of rank are carefully marked, and rigidly observed. It is not to be expected that every ruling Prince will perceive the advantage of placing his sons in a College or a Corps where they are subjected to impartial discipline, and brought into competition with lads of less exalted families. Our own schemes of education have perhaps been too literary; we have not always remembered that the object of a Chiefs' College is "not preparation for examinations, but preparation for life." These difficulties exist, but Lord Curzon has done his best to prove that they exist to be overcome; and the marked advance recorded in his farewell speech to the Chiefs at Indore is the best augury for the future.

The Coronation Durbar

It would be a mistake to suppose that the Sovereignty of the Crown was introduced into India by the Government of India Act of 1858. The East India Company, which "began in commerce and ended in empire," was created by a royal charter; its power to make peace and war, and to negotiate with the Princes of India, was derived from the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain; the Directors and the officials whom they appointed were, as Lord Hardwicke explained to them, only delegates and trustees. But the transfer of direct administration, the terms of Her Majesty's Proclamation, and the assumption of a new title in 1876, had established a more direct and a more personal tie between Sovereign and People. It was, therefore, only right that the accession of the first Emperor of India should be duly and worthily celebrated. By command of His Majesty, Lord Curzon made arrangements for a Durbar to be held at Delhi,

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and there was general rejoicing when it was known that the Duke and Duchess of Connaught would be present.

To provide for the reception and entertainment of many thousand guests—including more than a hundred rulers of Native States—was a task of no ordinary magnitude. Lord Curzon was supported by a band of very able assistants, each of whom had his own share in the success that was achieved. I was myself only one of the guests, borne along upon the current of each day's proceedings; but in going through the camps I came to the conclusion that the harmony and good order which prevailed were largely due to the fact that every detail of importance had been foreseen and provided for by one controlling mind.

The Durbar was a pageant, such as none of us who were present can hope to see again; but it was much more than a pageant. The vast amphitheatre, roofed only by the clear winter sky; the quiet advent of Princes and Governors, each bearing his allotted part in the display, each bringing his tribute of respect and loyalty —these were to us the visible signs of the peace and unity which England has bestowed on India. The cordial sincerity of the King's message, the sober and well-chosen words of the Viceroy, expressed the thoughts that were in every mind.

Commerce and Industry

In England the Government, in relation to trade and industry, is mainly a regulative agency; the Legislature intervenes only to protect the health and safety of the persons employed. In India, where capital is less abundant and the forces of industry more widely scattered, the Government is expected to take a direct interest in useful undertakings; and Lord Curzon threw himself into this part of his work with active sympathy. He found time to visit the coal-fields of Bengal, the gold-mines of Kolar, the oil-wells of Burma, the tea-gardens of Assam. On two occasions his Government had to undertake

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the difficult but unavoidable duty of amending and strengthening the regulations introduced for the protection of labour.

Even before 1899 the mining industry in Bengal had secured a strong position in Eastern markets. The coal was of good quality, and easily won; the labour force was recruited among the Sonthals, and other more or less primitive peoples. There was no reason to suspect that the employers, as a class, were indifferent to the welfare of their labourers; but it was known that in some cases ventilation and sanitation had been entirely neglected. Preventible accidents had occurred, and in certain mines the conditions of underground life were in every way unsatisfactory. The case for a regulating Act was strong; but when a Bill was introduced, it was received with a good deal of grumbling. As might have been anticipated, the Viceroy was accused of hampering industry by needless rules, and of punishing the good employer for the sins of his less careful neighbours. Lord Curzon was anxious to secure the assistance of the mine-owners in framing his regulations; the Bill was postponed for a year, and the interval was so well employed that the Mines Act of 1900 was passed with the consent and approval of those whose interests were affected. In the Calcutta session of the following year the chief place in the programme of legislation was given to the Assam Labour Bill; abuses which had grown up in connection with the labour traffic were corrected, and the position of the coolie was distinctly improved. In India, as in some other parts of the world, it is found impossible to start new industries unless with the aid of labourers who are unable to protect themselves by contract. The legislation which makes this possible is the affair of Government, and Government is not justified in giving the necessary powers unless it is made certain that the coolie will not be ill-treated or deprived of his share in the reward of industry. It may be that before long the Government and the tea-planters will be able to dispense with special legislation, and to rely on the

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ordinary action of demand and supply, supplemented by those provisions of the existing law which experience has shown to be necessary.

Of the speeches on commercial subjects delivered by Lord Curzon two only are now reprinted. He frequently had occasion to dwell on the importance of a sound currency policy and stability of exchange as the basis of economic progress; on the necessity for the employment of capital on a large scale—if possible, British and Indian capital in combination; on the community of interest between Government and those engaged in developing the resources of the country; on the fallacy of the familiar doctrine that there is a constant "drain of wealth" from India; on the policy of encouraging native industries; on the financial soundness of an extended railway programme and reduced telegraph rates. I have already mentioned the establishment of a new Department of Commerce and Industry. When Lord Curzon left India the Chambers of Commerce gave emphatic expression to the appreciation and the regret of the business world.

Education

Since the establishment of British rule in India our Government has always made some provision for education: the outlines of our present system are traced in the famous despatch of 1854, and in the recommendations of the Commission which reported in 1882. When Lord Curzon began a searching inquiry into the subject, he was not satisfied with the rate of progress maintained. In some quarters the enthusiasm of 1854 had given place to the spirit of routine, and there was a tendency to assume that English education, as imparted to natives of India, must always be superficial and second-rate.

After a careful preliminary survey Lord Curzon invited the chief officers of the education service to meet him in conference at Simla in the autumn of 1901. In his opening speech he indicated clearly the duty incumbent on Government, and the ideal which he proposed to

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set before the educated classes of India. The deliberations of the Conference were held in private; those who were present will bear me out in saying that the Viceroy spared no pains to elicit a full expression of all opinions, whether they agreed with his own or not. The general sense of the meeting was embodied in a series of Resolutions, and Government was thus provided with a programme of educational reform.

For the changes introduced in pursuance of the advice thus obtained, after reference to local Governments and prolonged public discussion, I must content myself with a reference to the Resolution recorded and published by the Government of India in March 1904, and to the speech delivered by Lord Curzon at Simla in September 1905. So far as elementary education was concerned, the chief difficulty was to find ways and means. Education had commonly been regarded as a matter of provincial concern, and the local Governments, always labouring to make both ends meet, were not able to face a large expenditure. But the general revenue was steadily improving; the liberality of the Government of India kept pace with the needs of the time; finally, in 1905, an annual grant of thirty-five lakhs for primary education was accepted as a permanent charge. Training colleges, industrial schools, and female education have all benefited in like manner by what one may call the Simla policy—a policy which may be said, without over-confidence, to have opened a new era of successful effort.

On turning to higher education a more thorny problem is disclosed. India possesses five universities, all of them founded on the model of London University, as it was in 1854. By setting the standards of examination these bodies control the instruction given in 191 colleges, numbering altogether about 23,000 students. It was originally intended that the colleges should be placed under inspection, but this part of the scheme was overlooked, and no attempt was made to lay down in general terms what a college ought to be. There were, therefore,

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good colleges working under many difficulties, but animated by a true academic spirit; there were others which could only be described as secondary schools or cramming establishments of an unsatisfactory kind. The weaker colleges had a direct interest in lowering the university standards; they were encouraged in this aspiration by the governing bodies of the universities themselves. When the three senior universities were founded in 1857 the Senates then appointed were small bodies, mainly academic in character; their leading members were men engaged for the most part in teaching, and competent to advise the Government on questions relating to the higher education. The Senates of 1900 were large bodies, mainly composed of gentlemen who made it their object to attract the largest possible number of students, and to turn out the largest possible number of graduates. Even in Bombay, where the colleges were fewer, and consequently better, than in Bengal, the university was controlled by a large body of professional men whose aims were not academic. No university made any proper provision for advanced study. No university had a library, or a laboratory, in which research work could be done.

These defects were fully considered at the Simla Conference, but it was felt that college teachers had a right to be consulted; a Commission appointed for this purpose reported in 1902. The Report, which embodied a scheme for the reconstitution of the Senates, was received with a storm of protest, especially in Bengal. It was freely asserted that the Viceroy was resolved to "officialise" the universities, and to insist on an impossible standard of efficiency, so that the weaker colleges might be forced out of existence.

If these had been the Viceroy's objects he might have fallen back on the despatch of 1854; he might simply have taken statutory power to appoint inspectors and to frame regulations. Lord Curzon had in fact determined to rely on university action. His plan was to provide all the universities with new Senates, mainly

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composed of teachers, and to leave each university to frame its own regulations and inspect its own colleges. These were the most important provisions of the Bill introduced at Simla in the summer of 1903, discussed and passed into law at Calcutta in the spring of 1904. To secure an adequate discussion of this Bill four university teachers were appointed to the Legislative Council.

The Universities Act has now been in operation for some time, and, so far as I can learn, none of the apprehended evils have followed in its train. The Senates have not been "officialised," nor have they shown themselves oppressive or inconsiderate even in dealing with unsatisfactory colleges. I am one of those who think that the people of India should be trained and encouraged to take a larger part in the management of their own affairs; and I venture to say that the Universities Act is the most powerful instrument yet devised for the attainment of that end. It is still included by the Congress in their annual catalogue of Lord Curzon's "retrograde" measures.

Convocation Speeches

No account of Lord Curzon's educational work would be complete without some reference to the annual Addresses which he delivered as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, two of which are now republished. The note of controversy is not absent from these speeches, but in listening to them we felt that the Viceroy was addressing his audience, not as head of the Government, but as the head of an educational body to whose welfare and progress he attached supreme importance, and that his chief desire was to awake a spirit of hope and courage among graduates and students. He would not admit that the university system was a failure; he invited his hearers to help him in improving it. Our progress since 1854 had been "not slow but startling"; but much remained to be done—much that

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could only be done by Indians; for if Government was to accept heavier responsibilities in connection with elementary schools, the higher education must always be a field for private effort. He besought the students to believe that their English education was not intended to denationalise them, but rather to fit them for an intellectual campaign in which East and West should march together. "Let the Englishman and the Indian accept the consecration of a union that is so mysterious as to have in it something of the divine, and let our common ideal be a united country and a happier people."

In the Convocation Address of 1905 the Chancellor adverted briefly to the difficulties of his task. He might not always succeed in understanding the thoughts of young India; they might find obscure meanings in what seemed to him to be simple and true. Still, there are certain ideals which are the common property of all humanity; and among these Lord Curzon gave the first place to truthfulness. He went on to say that truth had taken a high place in the moral codes of the West before it was similarly honoured in the East, and he suggested that Oriental opinion as to the lawfulness of deception is still vague and undecided. This doctrine is not absolutely novel, and it was expressed by Lord Curzon with all the proper qualifications. But at that moment the Universities Act was just coming into operation, and the academic atmosphere was highly charged with electricity. The Viceroy's address gave the opponents of Government, as they thought, good ground for a personal attack. Loud cries of indignation were raised at several of the university towns; the machinery of agitation was set to work; meetings were held in places where the Congress party was strong. The incriminated address is printed in these volumes exactly as it was delivered. Indians and Englishmen can see for themselves how little it takes to make a "popular movement" in Bengal.

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EURASIANS

In the ordinary work of administration, the Government of India is constantly engaged in balancing the claims of Hindu, Mussulman, and European; its task is not rendered easier by the demands and complaints of the mixed community, generally known as Eurasians, though they prefer to call themselves Anglo-Indians. Lord Curzon sympathised with the special trials of this class of British subjects, and he showed his sympathy in a practical way by persuading his Government to agree to a scheme for the enrolment of a Eurasian regiment; he did not succeed in persuading the Secretary of State. When he came to India, he found much in the programme of the "Anglo-Indian" Association which he could not but regard as fanciful and ill-judged. His address to a deputation of that body was friendly in tone, but friendship was so combined with candour that the members of the deputation were somewhat perturbed. They had come to ask for help, and the Viceroy had turned the tables by asking them to help him. His vigorous allocution was not without result. The leaders of Eurasian opinion began to take a more active interest in schemes for improving the education of their own people; and Government came to their aid with such useful measures as the revision of the scheme of European Education, more liberal support of schools at hill stations, and the supply of qualified teachers. These measures produced a marked reaction, and in the annals of the Eurasian community Lord Curzon will be acknowledged as one of their best friends.

FAMINE ADMINISTRATION

From the earliest times India has been liable to periods of famine and scarcity, attended by terrible suffering and loss of life. The mass of the people are dependent on agriculture; their lives are at the mercy of

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great natural forces which no Government can control. If the rains do not arrive, the crops may be deficient by 50 per cent in one district, and totally destroyed in the next. Under Mohammedan rule, the authorities, central or local, could do nothing; communications were then so slow that the wisest and most powerful of the Moghuls would have found it impossible to send help from head-quarters to a suffering province. Railways, good roads, and honest administration have done much to simplify the problem; the principles and methods of relief have been reduced to a system, and embodied in the Famine Code of 1898. But the art of administration cannot be codified, any more than the art of war. When the calamity is upon us, we still have to rely on the energy and resource of our local officers, and on the discretion which enables them to carry out large plans of relief without pauperising the cultivator or disorganising the industry by which he lives.

The famine of 1899-1900 affected a population of 25 millions in British India, and of more than 30 millions in Native States. Preparations for relief were made on a scale of unexampled magnitude. The Viceroy's share of the work was not limited to what he did or directed to be done at Simla; he visited the suffering districts, and formed an independent opinion on the sufficiency of the methods employed. His presence was welcomed by the people as an assurance that Government would do all that was possible to save them.

The two speeches included in these volumes will enable the reader to understand the extent of this awful calamity and the spirit in which it was met. In the Budget debate of March 1900, Lord Curzon gave the Council an exact estimate of the existing and impending scarcity. In the following October he was able to present a report on the measures of relief carried out under his supervision. Of all the speeches in Council during my time this is the one which impressed me most at the time of its delivery; it is a sober and dignified narrative of efforts and sacrifices which every Englishman may take pride

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in remembering. Some party men at home thought this a suitable time to attack the Viceroy of India. They accused him of "sitting helplessly by" while the people starved. The people are, happily, better informed than their self-appointed advocates.

IRRIGATION

Both in England and in India, the critics of Government have contended that the true remedy for famine lies in pressing forward great works of irrigation. The water that goes to waste in any one of our mighty rivers would be the salvation of the country if it were stored and distributed.

Lord Curzon gave the answer to this argument in the Budget debate of 1905. "In attempting to cope with drought and scarcity, we are in the presence of natural forces which human power has not succeeded, and may never succeed, in controlling. Cherrapunji in Assam may receive as many as twenty inches of rain in twenty-four hours; it lies below a mountain ridge which breaks the journey of immense masses of vapour, rising from the Bay of Bengal, and brings them down in the form of rain such as Englishmen at home have never seen, and can but imperfectly imagine. We need not count the number of gallons; for in the face of such a deluge the ablest engineer, backed by all the resources of Government, cannot secure more than a small fraction for the use of the cultivator. While Cherrapunji is submerged, Rajputana may be crying out for water.

At the outset of his administration, Lord Curzon reviewed the history of our schemes of irrigation, and endeavoured to form a practical estimate of the progress which might be achieved in his time. In the Budget debate of 1900, he stated that 19 millions of acres were already under irrigation: under the head of productive works (*i.e.* works which are expected to pay) he looked forward to an extension of 3½ million acres, at an outlay of eight or nine millions sterling. These estimates were

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in the main, borne out by the inquiries of a Commission, presided over by Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff. The report, which was presented in 1903, is a document of great interest and value, and it will serve as a kind of Irrigation Code for a long time to come.

In going about India, I have often been struck by the fact that every special branch of our work—Irrigation, or Forestry, or Police—calls for the exercise of administrative skill, and is only rendered possible by the gifts of leadership and management which our officers usually possess. Of this general truth the history of the Chenab Canal, as traced in Lord Curzon's speech at Lyallpur, affords an illustration. It is a considerable feat to have turned a million acres from a jungle to a smiling expanse of cultivation. We should not forget that this beneficent project involved the removal and resettlement of many thousand people; and the people were Punjabis, firmly attached to their own rights and customs, and not always easy to manage. Similar projects have now been devised; the money has been promised; and there is work in hand which will keep the engineers of the Government of India busily occupied for twenty years to come.

To the list of administrative changes for which Lord Curzon was responsible, we have still to add three great reforms to which he devoted much time and thought. He improved the departmental working of the Government of India by releasing its officers from the tyranny of the pen; the number of obligatory reports was considerably reduced; and the practice of the secretariat was somewhat simplified. After an exhaustive inquiry, he took steps to improve the *personnel* and training of the Police Force, which had been recruited, in many parts of the country, from an inferior class, and was regarded by the people as an oppressive and corrupt body. Finally, Lord Curzon led the way in a sustained endeavour to obtain the recognition of Agriculture as a science deserving the liberal support of Government; and in future the hereditary skill and aptitude of the people will be supplemented by experiment and research, and

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by good practical tuition. In carrying out the two reforms last mentioned, it was necessary not only to establish sound principles, but to provide ample funds.

Foreign Affairs

It is part of the Viceroy's duty to take charge of the Foreign Department, which conducts the correspondence of India with neighbouring powers, keeps the British Government informed on questions of Asiatic policy connected with India, and supervises the administration of the Native States. This arrangement lays a heavy burden of work on the head of the administration, but it secures his prompt attention to personal questions which might, if otherwise disposed of, give occasion for misunderstanding.

Under Lord Curzon's management, the relations between India and foreign powers were, speaking generally, quite satisfactory. The death of Abdurrahman in 1901 was not followed by any disturbance, and the good understanding established with him was continued with his successor Habibullah. The delimitation of the Seistan boundary removed a source of constant trouble between Persia and Afghanistan. The delimitation of the Aden Hinterland was attended by more serious difficulties, but it ended by securing a satisfactory line of division between British and Turkish spheres of influence.

In Persia, where he was already well known as a traveller, Lord Curzon devoted all his efforts to the opening of trade routes, the extension of the telegraph system, and the maintenance of good relations with Persian Governors and border chieftains. In these perfectly legitimate ways he aimed at building up an influence commensurate with our large interest in the trade of the country. Finally, in the autumn of 1903, the Viceroy paid a visit to the Persian Gulf. After touching at Muscat, an independent Arab State under British influence, the Squadron proceeded to those points on the coast

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where British subjects, English and Indian, are engaged in business. At Shargah, on what used to be known as the Pirate Coast, a Durbar was held on board the *Argonaut* for the Chiefs of the littoral. In reading the speech delivered on that occasion, let the English reader bear in mind that the Persian Gulf is kept open for the commerce of all nations by British power, and that the Chiefs are kept at peace among themselves by respect for British authority. I venture to say that the words spoken by the Viceroy of India have produced a deep and lasting effect on the Arab mind. Nothing was wanting that could lend dignity or picturesque variety to the scene, and all present must have noted the significance of this meeting between the British ships, with all their elaborate perfection of equipment, and the boldly handled but more primitive craft in which our visitors made their approach.

In conducting the foreign affairs of India, Lord Curzon never forgot that the North-West Frontier is or may at any time become the key of our strategic position. He recognised, more fully than some at least of his predecessors, that Indian policy must be co-ordinated with the policy of the Imperial Government. In the work of Imperial defence India has to bear her part; and India has not been found wanting. The Government of India lent the troops which saved Natal from an imminent danger; recovered Somaliland from the Mullah; and rescued the Legations at Peking.

The North-West Frontier

Before he left the House of Commons, Lord Curzon had spoken, as a member of Lord Salisbury's Ministry, on the subject of Frontier Policy. His contention then was, that the policy associated with the name of Lord Lawrence had been rendered obsolete by change of circumstances, and especially by improved communications. It is no longer possible for the Government of India to remain inactive within its own administrative boundary,

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and to decline responsibility for all that happens in the debatable land beyond. Our chief hope of peace now lies, not in a Forward policy, but in cultivating friendly relations with the tribes, and in avoiding all measures which give them any excuse for suspecting us of aggressive intentions. For measures of police in tribal territory, it is prudent to rely as far as possible on local levies under carefully selected British officers.

These are in fact the principles on which Lord Curzon proceeded to act in India. Along the whole frontier, from Chitral to Seistan, regular troops have been withdrawn, and their place has been taken by tribal militia or levies. This policy involves an element of risk, but it affords the best security for peace and order, provided always that it is combined with a firm and judicious handling of frontier difficulties. The seven years of Lord Curzon's term have been years of peace; there have been no little wars, no military or quasi-military operations, except the "blockade" established against those very obstinate people the Mahsud Waziris.

With a view to the prompt and effective solution of frontier questions, Lord Curzon proposed to separate a considerable tract of country from the Punjab; and the result of this proposal was, the constitution of the new North-West Frontier Province. There were some distinguished officers, then serving in the Punjab, who resented the change, as involving a reflection on the manner in which their work on the frontier had been done. But the Viceroy's argument prevailed; the new province is now in its fifth year, and I have reason to believe that the objections, which at one time were vigorously pressed, are now no longer heard. If Lord Curzon deprived the Punjab of part of its population, he has made good the deficiency, by the encouragement given to the policy of irrigation, which promises to add some millions of contented inhabitants to that historic province. In the new province, internal peace has been secured, and there is a marked improvement in every branch of administration.

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Lord Curzon has been described as the most outspoken of our Indian Viceroys; and in addressing the Chiefs of the frontier he told them plainly what the objects of his policy were. His speeches at Quetta and Peshawur ought to be carefully studied; they produced a great, and, I believe, a lasting effect on the Khans and Sirdars to whom they were addressed. In the East, wisdom is supposed to be the attribute of age; there was something picturesque in the high dignity of an office which entitled Lord Curzon to take the chief place in an assembly of greybeards, and to address them in the language of friendly exhortation and sound advice.

THE TIBET MISSION

The Tibetan Question is not argued at length in any of these speeches, but it is sometimes brought forward in support of the assertion that Lord Curzon was an aggressive and warlike Viceroy. A brief statement of facts will enable the impartial critic to form his own opinion.

In 1887 the Government of Lhasa invaded Sikkim, a country under British protection. Defeated in this enterprise, they entered into a treaty under which a boundary was agreed upon, and certain trading facilities were conceded to British subjects. The trade thus established was not large enough to impress Sir Henry Cotton, but it yielded a profit to native tea-merchants from India; and, if it had been fairly treated, it might have been developed. It was not fairly treated. From the outset, the Tibetan authorities did not observe the provisions of the treaty. It may be said that in declining to trade with us they only wished to safeguard the "isolation" of their country. Tibet is not in fact an isolated country; and the Dalai Lama, as everybody now understands, was bent on playing a part in the politics of Central Asia. The objects of his policy were well known. He wished to reduce the suzerainty of China to a nullity; to have no communication with India; and to cultivate the good-

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will of Russia, which he regarded as the predominant Asiatic power. In 1901 he despatched a special mission to the Czar. The Russian Foreign Minister explained that this mission had no political significance; and the British Foreign Minister, quite rightly, accepted this assurance.

Lord Curzon and his Government, who were throughout unanimous, were not disposed to aquiesce in continued breaches of a treaty in which British subjects had a substantial interest. The Viceroy began with a courteous request that our complaints should be considered; and his letters were returned unopened. In 1902 he arranged a conference with Chinese representatives at Yatung. The Chinese envoys took care to arrive too late; they apologised and professed themselves willing to proceed to such place as His Excellency the Viceroy might consider desirable. If Lord Curzon had named Yatung, or a place in British India, the farce of 1902 would have been played again, possibly by the same performers. By this time it was necessary to show that the Indian Government meant to have a civil answer to a civil question. The Viceroy named Khamba Jong, which is just across the Tibetan border, in the region where our boundary agreement had more than once been violated by the Tibetans. The choice was made with the consent of the Chinese, through whom, or with whom, as the suzerains of Tibet, the Government of India acted throughout; and it was accepted by the Dalai Lama.

Our Mission went to Khamba Jong, and at this point the diplomatic history of the case is, for the moment, broken off. The Dalai Lama refused to negotiate. We gave him every opportunity to stop the advance of the Mission, first at Khamba Jong, and then at Gyantse. He could have stopped it by offering security for the performance of the legal obligations of his Government. But he believed that his holy city was inaccessible, and he acted on that belief, to his own undoing. When Lord Curzon left India for a brief rest, in April 1904, Colonel Younghusband was at Gyantse, and the advance to

Lhasa had become inevitable. For the actual conduct of this arduous undertaking, no praise can be too high. There is nothing to regret, except the loss of Tibetan lives at the Hot Springs, and the guilt of that untoward event lies at the door of the monkish ruler of Lhasa, who sent out a crowd of undisciplined men to stop the advance of our troops.

My object here is only to fill in the details of the provisional report on the Tibet Mission which Lord Curzon presented to his countrymen at home in the summer of 1904. It is, happily, not necessary to enter on the questions which subsequently arose in connection with the treaty negotiated by Colonel Younghusband, and summarily revised by Mr. Brodrick. We are already in a position to say that the Mission has exercised a powerful influence for good. It is something to have dispelled the notion that a government of Buddhist monks can make themselves independent of the public law of Asia. The Tashi Lama, who succeeds to the spiritual throne vacated by the Dalai Lama, has visited India and paid his respects to the Prince of Wales; and we may look forward to the gradual development of friendly intercourse between our people and their neighbours in Tibet.

BENGAL

Under the Moghul Emperors, the kingdom or province of Bengal included the three sub-provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa; all these were taken over by Clive, on behalf of the Company, in 1765.

From Bengal as a base of operations, the Company extended its jurisdiction, westward and eastward, over the whole of Northern India. The political map of the territories thus acquired was formed by a process of accretion and separation. It was at one time intended to divide Bengal into two Presidencies, having their headquarters at Agra and at Calcutta respectively; but this proposal was not carried out. The "North-Western Provinces of Bengal" became a Lieutenant-Governorship

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in 1836; the Punjab, annexed in 1849, was also placed in charge of a Lieutenant-Governor ten years later. In the north-east, Assam, annexed to Bengal in 1826, became a separate Chief-Commissionership in 1874.

Bengal (the three original sub-provinces, with the addition of Eastern Bengal) still remained by far the heaviest charge entrusted to any Local Government. When Lord Curzon went to India, no head of a province was administering much more than half the population which looked to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

The duties incumbent on the head of a province are well known to those of our countrymen who have resided or travelled in India. The Lieutenant-Governor, who is always a civilian of more than thirty years' standing, is expected to know every district in his province, its resources, its needs, and its aspirations. He must cultivate the friendship of those leading members of the Hindu and Mohammedan communities on whom he relies for advice at all times, and for support in moments of difficulty. He must know the local civil service; only intimate knowledge can enable him to distribute promotion and censure with an even hand.

It is physically impossible that these duties should be performed by one man for a population of eighty millions. Experience proved that the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was hopelessly over-weighted. Several incumbents of the office had injured their health by their devotion to duty; and Sir Charles Elliott, whose industry is proverbial, has declared that he found himself quite unable to get through the day's work in the day. The suggestion that the Lieutenant-Governor might be assisted by an Executive Council was beside the mark; for the duties above described are personal in their nature; they must be performed in person, as every Governor of Madras or Bombay has discovered for himself.

From the Viceroy's point of view, the case for a further separation was irresistible; but in this as in other acts of his administration Lord Curzon desired, if possible, to carry public opinion along with him. The legislative

work of 1904 was exceptionally heavy, but in the middle of the session the Viceroy found time for a tour through the districts which were most directly affected by the proposed territorial changes. At Chittagong he pointed out to the business community that he was offering them the chance of becoming the principal port of a new and powerful administration, not overshadowed by Calcutta, but capable of developing its own individuality. At Dacca he made a dispassionate, one may even say a sympathetic, reply to the arguments advanced against all possible schemes of division; at Mymensingh he continued his exposition, and answered point by point the wild assertions which were circulating freely among the people.

These speeches, which, being only of temporary interest, are not reprinted here, produced their legitimate effect. In the following summer, while Lord Curzon was in England, the scheme of subdivision assumed its final shape. There were, however, certain interests, not local in their nature, and not likely to be conciliated by argument. Calcutta began to fear that her supremacy was in danger. Zemindars, pleaders, and bankers organised meetings of protest, in which students and even schoolboys took a conspicuous part. Large numbers of persons were induced to put pressure on the Anglo-Indian community by boycotting English goods. That some loss was thus inflicted on English merchants is not to be denied; but when one considers that Lord Curzon was himself a strenuous champion and partisan of Indian industries, the logic of the *Swadeshi* movement, as a protest against his policy, is not quite apparent.

The agitators made their appeal from an "autocratic" Viceroy to Bengali sentiment. That sentiment exists, and in my opinion it ought to be encouraged; for every friend of India wishes to see a healthy rivalry between the various communities which make up one Empire. But when this local patriotism displays itself in *Swadeshi* movements and the like, I venture to offer two remarks for the consideration of my Indian friends. In the

first place, we cannot forget that the Bengali race has attained its present position of prosperity and influence only under British rule. Under the Mohammedan Nawabs, as a recent writer reminds us, "the real Bengalis were seldom of sufficient importance to be mentioned by native historians." Under our government, they have full scope for their great intelligence and capacity; they dominate their own province, and they push out into other parts of India, where they have no hereditary right to exist, and where, but for our laws, they could not hold their own. In the second place, Bengali sentiment, where it exists, is not in the least affected by the administrative reform of Lord Curzon. The patriotic Bengali retains his language, his literary traditions, his pride in the success of his own people; he may still look to Calcutta as a great centre of academic and social influence.

It is indeed one of the ironies of fortune that Calcutta should more than once have taken the lead in opposing Lord Curzon's measures. Since Lord Wellesley's time, no Governor-General has laboured so hard to elucidate the history, to strengthen the institutions, and to evoke the corporate spirit of the capital city. Under Lord Curzon's direction, and to a great extent by his personal exertions, the historic lines of Fort William were retraced and permanently marked. The Metcalfe Hall, rescued from comparative neglect, was made the home of a great Library accessible to readers of all classes. It is true that in dealing with the local Corporation the scheme of reform which Lord Curzon inherited from his predecessor incurred the hostility of the more advanced section of native opinion. In the end, Calcutta came to recognise and admire the civic patriotism of the Viceroy; and in due time his statue will be added to the line of eminent statesmen and soldiers who are commemorated, in marble or in bronze, on the historic Maidan.

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Military Administration

In approaching the subject of military administration, the Viceroy of India finds himself between two fires. He has to cope with the arguments of gentlemen who seem to assume that all military expenditure is a waste of money; and he has to meet the demands of the experts, who are so bent on perfecting the machine that they lose sight of the Budget altogether.

In 1899 the efficiency of the Indian Army was called in question by critics at home, who were experts, but not exactly specialists; they knew little of the efforts of successive Military Members of Council, and made no allowance for their difficulties. To the general charge of inefficiency, South Africa and China have supplied a fairly complete answer; but there could be no doubt that in some points our military preparations were inadequate. The Viceroy's first duty is to make India safe; and India is not safe unless her armies are able to face European troops, armed with the best modern weapons. This being the standard, it was found necessary to re-arm the native regiments; to strengthen the artillery, and to make a substantial addition to the number of British officers. These changes involved a large expenditure, and in the Budget debate of 1900 Lord Curzon announced that there would probably be no reduction of military estimates in his time. It is needless to say that this announcement was unpopular; but the circumstances of the time were favourable to the taxpayer: the public revenue was such as to afford a surplus, and the savings effected by lending troops for service out of India were applied in carrying out the necessary improvements.

Among the items of expense was a sum assigned for the introduction of electric lighting and electric fans into barracks. This may appear to be a detail; but it relates to a matter which Lord Curzon had at heart. He knew well that the hot, dark night is the time when the British

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soldier's temper gives way and the punkah-coolie who goes to sleep runs the risk of being maimed or killed. Every such assault was regarded by Lord Curzon as a serious incident calling for strict investigation, and, where an offence was proved, for adequate punishment. His action exposed him to much hostile comment from his own countrymen, and no part of his conduct was more frequently discussed in Anglo-Indian newspapers. I do not now propose to enter fully into this controversy. To do so it would be necessary to examine the evidence and procedure in each case—a course of preparatory study with which Lord Curzon's critics have commonly dispensed. He was deeply interested in any plan which promised to add to the comfort of British soldiers, but he was determined to exact from them a high standard of behaviour and a due regard for the rights of their Indian fellow-subjects.

The New Army Department

Lord Curzon's experience in India had given him confidence in the military system which he had to administer. Under that system the Military Department was placed in charge of an Ordinary Member of Council, always a soldier, but precluded, during his term of office, from holding any command in the Army. The office had been held by men in the first rank of their profession, such as were Sir George Chesney and Sir Henry Brackenbury. The Military Member remained at the headquarters of Government during the working year, and was the constitutional adviser of the Viceroy on questions relating to the Army.

The Secretary of State was empowered to appoint, and did, as a general rule, appoint the Commander-in-Chief to be an Extraordinary Member of Council. As head of the Army, the Commander-in-Chief was responsible for promotion and discipline, and for all movements of troops. In case of war, he might have to take command in the field, and even in time of peace

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his duties often prevented him from attending regularly in Council.

The relations between Army Headquarters and the Military Department varied to some extent with the personal qualities of the two distinguished officers concerned; friction was usually avoided, but there was an occasional misunderstanding. At Simla the two offices were close together; but they conducted their business by correspondence. When the Commander-in-Chief had a proposal to make, it was brought to the notice of the Viceroy in Council through the Military Department.

This procedure was strongly objected to by Lord Kitchener, who arrived in India at the end of 1902. His plan was to create an Army Department of which he should himself be the head, and to transfer to this new authority the whole business of military administration.

I was not in Council when this plan was discussed, and my experience does not qualify me to offer an opinion on the merits of Lord Kitchener's proposal. Lord Curzon, who was supported by the Ordinary Members of his Council, was unable to accept it. They were unanimously of opinion that the tendency of the scheme was to concentrate military authority in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief, and to subvert the supremacy of the civil power by depriving it of independent military advice. Even as amended by the Secretary of State, the scheme was still found open to objection. The Military Member was to be retained; but the position assigned to him was such that the Governor-General in Council thought he could no longer rely on having the assistance of an officer, thoroughly acquainted with the Indian Army, and entitled to express an independent opinion on the political, financial, and administrative aspects of all military proposals. The Government might thus be left without adequate means of information, face to face with the newly constituted military power. The scheme, they considered, could only be worked to advantage if it were laid down that the new Supply Member should be a military officer of great experience, authorised to act

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as the general adviser of Government. Lord Curzon indicated the type of officer he wanted, and suggested a name. The Secretary of State rejected the Viceroy's recommendation, and intimated that Lord Curzon should consult the Commander-in-Chief as to the officer to be selected. Mr. Brodrick's description of the class of officer to be appointed, and the terms in which he defined the advisory powers of the Supply Member, were not satisfactory to Lord Curzon. Convinced that a serious, and, as he thought, a dangerous revolution was contemplated in the constitution of the Government of India, he tendered his resignation in August 1905, and left India in the following November.

The Press

India, that is to say, the educated class in India, is abundantly supplied with newspapers, more or less closely conforming to the type of English journalism. Lord Curzon was a diligent student of their columns; he received from them many hints which he turned to practical account; and he was always willing to supply them with information. He instituted a Press Room at Calcutta and Simla, for the purpose of enabling the newspapers to obtain full and early intelligence of official proceedings.

On many disputed questions the Indian and the Anglo-Indian papers take different sides; the former were joined by many of the latter in opposition to the Official Secrets Bill of 1903. The history of that measure may be given in a very few words. Certain persons had been discovered in the act of photographing fortifications; the military authorities wished to prosecute, but they were advised that under the Act then in force, which dated from 1889, it would be necessary to prove a criminal intention, and the offenders went unpunished. It was plainly expedient to strengthen the law. On taking up the Act for amendment, it was found to have been so drafted that, while one eminent advocate had described

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it as an Act for the protection of military secrets only, another, equally eminent, had held that it also applied to civil affairs. The Government decided to clear up this ambiguity by including civil affairs in the scope of the Bill.

In its military aspect, the Bill was not opposed; and it appears to me that, by making this concession, the critics gave away the whole case. If their views had been accepted, the law would have stood so, that the man who copied the pattern of a new regimental button would be guilty of an offence, while the man who published the draft of an important treaty would go scot-free. From the practical point of view, the Bill was only a small but necessary improvement in the criminal law; it was denounced all over India as a deliberate attack on the liberties of the Press. One English newspaper announced that the Government of India was about to enter on a "debauch of Press prosecutions." An Indian member of the Council asserted that Lord Curzon was borrowing his methods of administration from Russia. If this critic could only have been placed for a few weeks in charge of a newspaper at Odessa, and if he had said of the Government there what he used to say about us in Calcutta, he would have returned to his home in British India a sadder and a much wiser man.

Lord Curzon and Public Opinion

In this rapid survey, many points of interest must be omitted; I have tried to indicate with precision what Lord Curzon attempted, and how far he succeeded in achieving his purpose. It is not yet time to sum up the results of his policy; nor is mine the pen that should be employed for that purpose. But, after enumerating some of the heavy tasks imposed on him, I will end by saying something of the impression which his work produced.

The reward of a good Viceroy consists in the confidence of the Services; in the support which he receive

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from the ruling Chiefs, and from leading members of the community; and in the gratitude of the people. It cannot be truly said that Lord Curzon has missed his reward. He often fluttered the dovecotes of officialism, but there are few of those who worked with and under him who will refuse to acknowledge his earnest desire to do justice and to do good. By the Princes and Chiefs he will be remembered as a representative of the Crown who sought their friendship and aided their efforts without encroaching on their independence. For the people—there are, as we know, many millions of men in India to whom the Viceroy of the moment is only a passing figure in a procession. But wherever Lord Curzon's duties required his personal presence the people too will remember him as a Viceroy who wished to see with his own eyes what they were doing, and what was being done for them; as an Englishman who proved his sympathy by respecting their beliefs, and his piety by repairing their temples and tombs.

The speeches now collected range over a great variety of topics; they are fused into a consistent whole by Lord Curzon's earnest desire to illustrate, in dealing with each particular question, the principles and aims of British rule in India. He lost no opportunity of testifying to his conviction that India is in many ways the pivot of our imperial system; that its government is the noblest duty imposed upon the British race; and that our duty will not be worthily performed unless justice and humanity are made the corner-stones of our policy. He has set a high standard for others; and by that standard he must himself be judged. As one of those who shared in the labours of his administration, I am not in a position to pass judgment: in these pages panegyric and criticism would be equally out of place. My endeavour has been, to state the facts fairly, and to supply my countrymen with the materials for a wise and dispassionate verdict.

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INTRODUCTORY

DINNER GIVEN BY OLD ETONIANS IN LONDON

On October 28, 1898, Lord Curzon (Viceroy-Designate of India), the Earl of Minto (Governor-General-Designate of Canada), and Rev. J. E. C. Welldon (Bishop-Designate of Calcutta) were entertained at a farewell dinner by a large number of old Etonians at the Café Monico in London. The Earl of Rosebery, who presided, proposed the toast of "Our Guests." Lord Curzon replied as follows:—

This gathering to-night, composed as it is of old schoolfellows, old friends, of men who have inherited the same traditions and are loyal to the same collegiate mother, is a compliment which I am sure the happy trio who are fortunate enough to be your guests are never likely to forget. But if there is anything that could enhance the special significance and value of that compliment, it would consist in the fact that Lord Rosebery has consented to occupy the chair and in the speech to which we listened a short while ago. It will ever be memorable to me, whose public life has been associated with one political party, that at this turning-point in my fortunes, my health has been proposed by one who has been the leader of the rival political party. And it will be memorable to all of us, your guests this evening, that, as we are starting forth for our different spheres of work, the farewell to which we have listened should have proceeded from the lips of an ex-Prime Minister of

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England. Surely there is something of good omen in this combination. For, after all, we each of us are going out to occupy, if the expression may be permitted, a different thwart in that stout craft of Empire of which Lord Rosebery once pulled the stroke oar. From his lips we have all of us, on many occasions, imbibed the lessons of an Imperialism, exalted but not arrogant, fearless but not rash—an Imperialism which is every day becoming less and less the creed of a party and more and more the faith of a nation. I have said that we are especially fortunate in our hosts and in our Chairman. But may I, for myself, also claim a particular good fortune in the person of one of my fellow-guests? When twenty years ago Welldon and I lived together in Paris, in the house of a French apothecary, to study the French language; when at a later date we crossed together the United States of America, and together viewed the glories of Niagara and the Yosemite; when on another occasion, in the company of a dear friend, also present to-night, the Head-Master of Haileybury,[1] we rode together across the mountains and valleys of Greece, little did we think that the day would one day come when at the same time he and I should be going forth to the same great continent, to take our share in that noble work which I firmly believe has been placed by the inscrutable decrees of Providence upon the shoulders of the British race. I congratulate India upon having obtained such a successor to the See of Heber and of Cotton. I congratulate myself that I shall have as my spiritual and episcopal master one of my oldest and dearest of friends.

Lord Rosebery has spoken in gracious terms of the circumstances under which I have accepted this appointment. There is a passage in the writings of Thomas Carlyle which in this connection has always haunted my mind. This is what that acute but rugged old philosopher said:—

"I have sometimes thought what a thing it would be

[1] Rev. Canon E. Lyttelton, now Head-Master of Eton.

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could the Queen in Council pick out some gallant-minded stout cadet and say to him, 'Young fellow, if there do lie in you potentialities of governing, of gradually guiding, leading and coercing to a noble goal, how sad it is they should be all lost. See, I have scores on scores of colonies. One of these you shall have as vice-king. Go you and buckle with it in the name of Heaven, and let us see what you will build it to.'"

Though these words were spoken of the West Indian colonies, I think that, *mutatis mutandis*, they are equally applicable to the East Indian Empire; and they indicate to me the spirit of courage, but yet of humility, of high aspiration, but still more of duty, in which any man should approach such a task. I have often seen during the past few weeks my acceptance of this office attributed to a variety of causes—to personal ambition, to the disappointment of Parliamentary hopes, to failing health. My own experience of public life, such as it has been, leads me to think that the simplest explanation of the phenomena of human action—human beings being more or less always cast in the same mould—is likely to be the most correct, and that the recondite is apt to be the fallacious as well as the obscure. Is it permissible, therefore, for me to say in this company of old school-fellows and of personal friends that, whatever may have been the views of those who thought me worthy of this office, I gladly accepted it because I love India, its people, its history, its government, the absorbing mysteries of its civilisation and its life? I think it was while I was at Eton that a sense of its overwhelming importance first dawned upon my mind. There we were perpetually invited by a body of assiduous and capable mentors,—I need hardly say that I allude to the Eton masters,—and we responded with greater or less reluctance to the appeal, to contemplate the pomp and majesty, the law and the living influence, of the Empire of Rome. We had at Eton in my day, and I hope it still flourishes, an institution called the Literary Society, of which, I believe, my friend Welldon was one of the

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first presidents, and in which I afterwards had the honour to follow in his footsteps. To this society, from time to time, came down eminent men to preach to us about the wider world outside. Among those distinguished persons who came in my day was Sir James Fitz-James Stephen, but just returned from India—the father of my dear friend, Jim Stephen, the "J. K. S." of the literary world, that brilliant but meteoric intellect that all too soon plunged into the abyss and was lost from view. Sir James Stephen came down to Eton and told the boys that listened to him, of whom I was one, that there was in the Asian continent an empire more populous, more amazing, and more beneficent than that of Rome; that the rulers of that great dominion were drawn from the men of our own people; that some of them might perhaps in the future be taken from the ranks of the boys who were listening to his words. Ever since that day, and still more since my first visit to India in 1887, the fascination and, if I may say so, the sacredness of India have grown upon me, until I have come to think that it is the highest honour that can be placed upon any subject of the Queen that in any capacity, high or low, he should devote such energies as he may possess to its service.

But may I carry my suggestion one step further? May I not say that the growth of the ideal of duty has been the most salient feature in the history of our relations with India during the past hundred years, and still more during the reign of the present Queen? A century ago India in the hands of the East India Company was regarded as a mercantile investment, the business of whose promoters and agents was to return as large dividends as possible—and the larger, of course, the better—to the pockets of their shareholders at home. In the course of these proceedings many of those men amassed great wealth, almost beyond the dreams of avarice—wealth, the display of which was apt to be vulgar, and the source of which was often impure. Indian posts, low as well as high, were the spoils of

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political patronage at home, and were exclusively distributed according to the narrowest and most selfish exigencies of party polemics in England. We have only to look to the treatment of Warren Hastings to realise how little the welfare of India was thought of in comparison with the loss or gain to Whigs and Tories in London. I do not say that we have altogether extricated India from the perils and the contamination of the party system; I do not say that our administration of that great empire is altogether free from blemish or taint. But I do say that it is informed with a spirit of duty, and that it is edified and elevated by that influence. I do say that we think much of the welfare of India, and but little of its wealth; that we endeavour to administer the government of that country in the interests of the governed; that our mission there is one of obligation and not of profit; and that we do our humble best to retain by justice that which we may have won by the sword. May we not, indeed, say that at the end of the nineteenth century the spectacle presented by our dominion in India is that of British power sustained by a Christian ideal?

What then is the conception of his duty that an outgoing Viceroy should set before himself? I have no new or startling definition to give, but the light in which it presents itself to my mind is this. It is his duty, first and foremost, to represent the authority of the Queen-Empress, whose name, revered more than the name of any other living sovereign by all races and classes from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, is in India both a bond of union and the symbol of power; and to associate with the personal attributes that cling about that name the conviction that the justice of her government is inflexible, that its honour is stainless, and that its mercy is in proportion to its strength. Secondly, he should try to remember that all those people are not the sons of our own race, or creed, or clime, and that it is only by regard for their feelings, by respect for their prejudices—I will even go so far as to say by deference to their scruples,—

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that we can obtain the acquiescence as well as the submission of the governed. Thirdly, his duty is to recognise that, though relatively far advanced in the scale of civilisation compared with the time of Lord Wellesley, or even Lord Canning, India is still but ill equipped with the material and industrial and educational resources which are so necessary to her career; and so to work that she may, by slow but sure degrees, expand to the full measure of her growth. And lastly, it is to preserve intact and secure, either from internal convulsion or external inroad, the boundaries of that great and Imperial dominion.

This, I would venture to suggest, is the conception which every outgoing Viceroy sets before himself. He is probably unwise if he attempts to fill in the details too closely in advance. The experience in which he must be sadly lacking at the start, but which will come to him in increasing volume day by day, will, with slow and sometimes with painful touch, fill in the details as he proceeds. For after all—and I speak to those, if there are any here present, who have travelled in the East and have caught the fascination of its mysterious surroundings—the East is a University in which the scholar never takes his degree. It is a temple in which the suppliant adores but never catches sight of the object of his devotion. It is a journey the goal of which is always in sight but is never attained. There we are always learners, always worshippers, always pilgrims. I rejoice to be allowed to take my place in the happy band of students and of wayfarers who have trodden that path for a hundred years. I know that I have everything to learn. I have, perhaps, many things to unlearn. But if the test of the pupil be application, and of the worshipper faith, I hope that I may pass through the ordeal unscathed. At any rate, I have among the long list of names inscribed on the back of this *menu* the example of three immediate Eton predecessors to guide me—of Lord Dufferin, whose Indian Viceroyalty was but the culminating point in a career which for over thirty years

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has been the property less of himself than of his country; of Lord Lansdowne, who left India amid greater manifestations of popularity and esteem than any departing Viceroy since the Mutiny; and of my immediate predecessor Lord Elgin, who has confronted a time of storm and stress with a fortitude and a composure which are worthy of the high name that he bears and of the race from which he is sprung. I know that with these distinguished predecessors I cannot hope to compete. But there is one characteristic which I share together with them, and which we derive from our common part in the Eton heritage, and that is the desire to be true to the honour and the credit of that ancient foundation. I am not so foolish to-night as to utter any vain prophecies, or to indulge in any illusive hopes; but I shall be satisfied if I can carry out the work which they have begun, and if at the end of my time it can be said of me that I have not been unworthy of the traditions of the greatest and the noblest of schools.

DINNER GIVEN BY ROYAL SOCIETIES' CLUB IN LONDON

Lord Curzon was entertained at dinner on November 7, 1898, by the Royal Societies' Club at their House Club in St. James's Street. Sir Clements Markham, K.C.B., President of the Club, was in the chair, and proposed the health of Lord Curzon, who replied as follows:—

Among the parting compliments which have been offered to me before leaving England, there is none which I have accepted more readily, or which I have enjoyed more keenly than the honour of this evening. For here I have the privilege of meeting and being entertained by a number of gentlemen who are interested in many branches of scientific inquiry, and not least in that one with which alone I can claim to have any practical connection, viz. the science of geography. It is a

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commonplace of public life that we all of us have our innocent distractions, which, however little we may excel in them, we pursue with an enthusiasm which is at least sincere. A dreadful book was published in London last year in which eminent personages were invited to state what were the amusements with which they occupied their leisure hours. One man said photography; another man preferred golf; a third indulged with exhilaration in the composition of some noxious gas; and a fourth would take his morning dip in the Serpentine. My own distraction for many years has been the study of the geography of Asia in its political and commercial as well as in its physical aspects; and I can truthfully say that the distinction which in all my life I have most valued, outside the domain of politics, has been that which I received a little more than three years ago from the hands of the Chairman of this evening, viz. the Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society.

The President has spoken in gracious and complimentary terms of my appointment to the high office which I am about to take up. I have said on a previous occasion that I am glad to go to India; and my main reason for being so is the fact that India has always appeared to me to be the pivot and centre—I do not say the geographical, but the political and Imperial centre—of the British Empire.[1] To my mind we are before and beyond all else an Asiatic dominion; and I venture to think that the man who has never been east of Suez does not know what the British Empire is. Here in Europe we occupy a few small islands that are scattered on the surface of the Northern Sea. We possess a number of carefully-selected and well-adapted points of vantage along the highways of commerce in the Mediterranean; and we have also a Navy so formidable that it constitutes us the most powerful maritime nation in the world. Elsewhere, in the American Continent, and in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, we possess great tracts of territory, amounting in some cases to the size of con-

[1] Compare pp. 30, 117.

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tinents, which are peopled by men of our own blood, flying the same flag, and enjoying the sovereignty of the same Queen. Such possessions have been acquired, and such colonies have been founded, not of course on the same scale, but on a smaller scale, by other nations. But it is in Asia and in India that the great experiment is being made. It is there that we are doing a work which no other people has ever attempted to do before, and by the doing of which we shall be judged in history. There lies the true fulcrum of dominion, the real touch-stone of our Imperial greatness or failure.

Why were we first tempted into Egypt? Because it lay on the route to India. What was the reason of our old traditional policy as regards Constantinople and the Turkish Empire? Because their possession by a hostile Power was held to be a danger to our Eastern dominions. Why do we maintain an expensive establishment in Persia and exercise a supreme control over the Persian Gulf? Because the former is on the road to India, and because the waters of the latter mingle with those of the Indian Ocean and open a path to Indian shores. What was the origin of our colonies at the Cape? Because we went by that way to India. Why do we subsidise the Amir of Afghanistan, and why have we twice or three times sent military expeditions into that fateful country? Because it is a glacis of the Indian fortress, on which we cannot afford to permit the lodgment of an enemy. Why are we interested in the forlorn and inhospitable wastes of the Pamirs? And why have such perilous diplomatic controversies arisen in connection with territories so intrinsically abominable and vile? Because they command the northern passes into India. Why did we guarantee the main part of the kingdom of Siam? And why do we take so keen an interest in the fortunes of that picturesque country and in the policy of its enlightened monarch? Because it is one of those border States that are coterminous with British territory in India and that separate the Indian frontier from a rival European State. Why, in conclusion, do men talk so

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much about the Upper Yangtse and about Szechuan and Yunnan? Because those provinces are contiguous with Upper Burma, that is, with India itself. I might pursue this subject indefinitely, but I think I have said enough to show how the casual stone, which was thrown into the sea of chance by a handful of merchant adventurers 200 years ago, has produced an ever-extending circle of ripples, until at the present moment they embrace the limits and affect the destinies of the entire Asiatic Continent. I am one of those who think that the Eastward trend of Empire will increase and not diminish. In my belief the strain upon us will become greater and not less. Parliament will learn to know Asia almost as well as it now knows Europe; and the time will come when Asiatic sympathies and knowledge will be not the hobby of a few individuals, but the interest of the entire nation.

It is because of the intensity of the conviction with which I hold these views that all my travels and studies and writings, such as they have been, have been connected with the theme of India and the neighbouring countries. No pleasure has been greater to me than that of wandering along the frontiers of our Indian dominions and of observing the manner in which we there discharge our Imperial task. In doing so I have learned something of the character and temperament of the native tribes. Those wild clansmen have an individuality that is entirely their own. We have sometimes, I may even say often, been compelled to fight them. We have never fought them gladly, and we have always sheathed the sword with pleasure. For there is a manliness in their patriotism and a love of independence in their blood that is akin to our own. If I were asked what appears to me to be the secret of the proper treatment of those tribes, or of Oriental races in general, I would reply that it consists in treating them as if they were men of like composition with ourselves. I do not mean to suggest that they have the same views, the same scruples, the same precepts, or the same codes as ourselves; in many instances the diametrically opposite is

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the case. But there is a common bond of manhood between us, the element of the human in humanity, which holds us together, and is the true link of union; and it is the recognition of that bond, and the sense of fellowship that it engenders, that have been the secret of the success of every great Frontier officer that we have ever had. I know that there is a widespread belief in this country that the Oriental is a solemn and reflective creature, from whom we are separated by oceans of moral and intellectual difference; and nowhere has this idea been better expressed than in the magnificent verse of Matthew Arnold, in which he described the contact of the Empire of Rome with the East and the issue of that collision :—

> The East bowed low before the blast
> In patient deep disdain;
> She let the legions thunder past,
> And—plunged in thought again.

There is no doubt a great deal of truth in that. It is the note of the Oriental as contrasted with the Western temperament. But I venture to say that, however true it may be of the inhabitants of the soaked and low-lying plains, it is not true, or at any rate it is much less true, of the highlanders on the outskirts of our Indian dominions. There we find a light-hearted and festive temperament; we meet with laughter and dancing and song; above all, we recognise the power of a well-organised and well-delivered joke. When I look back upon some of my experiences, and remember the dinner that Captain Younghusband[1] and I gave to the poor Mehtar of Chitral, afterwards murdered by his brother, or when I recall my many conversations with the Amir of Afghanistan,[2] I recognise that the saving grace of humour is

[1] Now Sir Francis Younghusband. Lord Curzon and he were in Chitral together in October 1894, as the guests of the Mehtar Nizam-ul-Mulk, who was shot in the back while out hawking, and killed, on January 1, 1905.

[2] The allusion is to Lord Curzon's visit to Kabul as the guest of Amir Abdur Rahman Khan in November 1894. The Amir's account of the same conversations is to be found in his Life, edited by Mir Munshi Sultan Mohammed Khan (2 vols. 1900).

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just as much a property of Orientals as of ourselves, and the man who wants to find a key to their heart and to their sympathies will do well to employ that weapon.

I have also been much struck on my Frontier travels by the character and the work of the young British officers who are there engaged in positions of responsibility or command. It may be thought perhaps that I have a natural and even selfish propensity towards youth. So I have. I should be the last to deny it, and I hope I may retain it even when I am old. For of one thing I am certain, that the old men who have rendered best service to their country have been those who have also been capable of stimulating, encouraging, and utilising the services of the young. It may also be thought that youth is synonymous with impetuosity. Nevertheless I have found in those regions just as keen a sense of responsibility, as cool a judgment, and as wise a forecast among the young men as I have among their seniors. In a sense it is even more so in proportion; since the young officer who exceeds his instructions or who takes the bit between his teeth has no previous reputation to save him from the consequences of disaster. We employ, and we rightly employ, the graybeards in our councils and in positions of supreme control; but on the outskirts of civilisation we require the energy, the vitality, and the physical strength of youth. I look forward with enthusiasm to being the colleague and the leader of those young men, and I wish them God-speed in the work that they have undertaken.

Then, again, upon the Frontier one sees something at first hand of the native soldiers of the Indian Empire. I wish those brave men were better known at home. From time to time, at a Jubilee celebration or otherwise, we see detachments of them in the streets of London. But, for the most part, their services are rendered and their gallantry displayed in fields that are far removed from the public gaze at home; and I doubt if our people here or if the nations of Europe have any idea of the magnificent Native Army that we possess. I can only

attribute to this ignorance the utterly inadequate response that has been made to the appeal for the Indian Heroes' Fund, which was organised for the relief of the families of those who fought so bravely for us in the Frontier campaigns of last year. Those men laid down their lives for us, fighting in some cases against men of their own race, of their own religion, sometimes of their own family, with as much strenuousness and loyalty as if they had been British redcoats defending a British home. But in proportion to the ignorance which prevails upon this subject is the duty which rests upon those who know to speak. When it is said that we hold India by the sword, be it remembered that that sword is two-thirds forged of Indian metal, and that in reality we defend her frontiers and fight her battles by the aid of her own sons.

The march of science and the improvements in steam communication are every day bringing India nearer to ourselves. From one point of view that is a great advantage; for in proportion as we know more, so shall we misunderstand less, and there will be less chance of mistakes and blunders and crimes. But there is something to be said on the other side also. In the old days a man who went out for an Indian career, whether as Viceroy or Governor, or in some subordinate post of administration, went out for the work of a lifetime. It took him, in fact, no inconsiderable part of a lifetime to get there. When Clive went to India in 1742 he was more than a year upon the way; when Warren Hastings first went out in 1750 he spent from eight to nine months upon the journey, and when he finally returned in 1785 his passage occupied four months, and was regarded as exceptionally quick. The average interval between the issue of a despatch and the receipt of a reply was one and a half years. The consequence was that men settled in India, so to speak, for a lifetime. They were continued in positions for which they were fitted. They came home for a holiday perhaps once in their career. Right into the course of the present century a Viceroy occupied the Viceregal chair for a period of

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ten years.[1] There were great advantages in that system. There grew up from it a solidarity of interests between the rulers and the ruled, and a sympathetic and intimate knowledge which was an immeasurable gain in the development and pacification of the country. Nowadays all that is changed. The journey to India is accomplished in a fortnight. An Englishman in India may enjoy six weeks in London, and will be back at his post in three months from the date at which he left it. The telegraph repeats to him every morning the news and the excitements of Europe. Of course this has a freshening effect upon his intellect; but it has a disturbing effect also. The consequence is that he looks less to India and more to home. He does not merge the European in the Asiatic interest, but is the temporary exile who is always looking to his return home. This is the tendency, perhaps an inevitable tendency, of our modern system, but it is one the serious side of which it would be well to recognise. Anyhow, the term of the Viceroy is fixed. By a practice which has become almost invariable, he cannot leave the shores of India for five years. During that time he is a prisoner, though in my case it will be a happy imprisonment, behind the bars of that gilded cage. Whether the period of five years is a long enough time for him to do his work, whether in that period he can make any lasting impression upon the tremendous problems that come before him, or upon the vast populations committed to his care, is a question which I shall be better able to answer five years hence than now. Anyhow, they are certain to be the most crowded and responsible years of his life. As he takes up the task there comes upon him a feeling that there is much in it that is altogether beyond his powers, and exceeds perhaps his most extreme desires. But I believe that he may confidently rely upon the indulgence and the toleration of his fellow-countrymen, who are just to their servants beyond the seas, and that they will echo the God-speed which you have given to me to-night.

[1] The Marquis of Hastings, 1813-1823.

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ADDRESS FROM BOMBAY MUNICIPALITY

Lord and Lady Curzon landed at Bombay on December 30, 1898. In reply to an Address of welcome from the Municipality, Lord Curzon spoke as follows:—

I accept with pleasure the Address which you have just read out to me, and I have been struck by the cordiality and eloquence of the terms in which it is expressed. No Viceroy can set foot on these shores, which are to be his home and the scene of his labours for five years, without a keen and almost overpowering sense of the importance of the vista that opens before him, or without a corresponding gratefulness for the first words of welcome that fall from the lips of those over whose fortunes he is about to preside. To me it is some slight alleviation of the anxiety in which any man must be placed at such a moment, that I do not come altogether as a stranger to your country, and that the intimate concern which I have long entertained in its people and problems, and which will be commensurate with my life itself, is based not exclusively upon hearsay or upon reading, but upon some small personal acquaintance with India. This is the fifth time that I have gazed from the sea upon the majestic panorama of your city of palaces and palms; and if my previous visits have been those of a private traveller only, they have yet given me an interest, which official experience can but enhance, in your city—itself so worthy a gateway to a land of enchantment—and in its occupations, so typical of the busy industry to which the peoples of India have turned under the security assured to them by British rule. I am glad to note that in this Address you speak of the "earnest and devoted loyalty which the whole Empire entertains for the Queen-Empress." My first sentiment in accepting this great office when it was bestowed upon me was one of pride that it has fallen to my lot to be one of the Governors-General

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—the fifteenth in number, but I would fain hope not the last—in her long and illustrious reign. Such a recollection fires a wonderful train of memory, for it brings before one a stately procession of names, many of which have passed into the Valhalla of history, and it recalls a period at the commencement of which India was but a scattered dominion, while at its close it is a relatively homogeneous Empire. But it also awakens in the breast of an incoming Viceroy an ardent sense of duty, for it inspires him with the desire to emulate those distinguished predecessors, and to act in a manner not unworthy of the august and benignant Sovereign whom he is privileged to represent. I believe the loyalty of which you speak to the person and the throne of the Queen-Empress to be as widespread as it is profound and sincere. In my eyes it is more than any other factor the bond which holds together in harmonious union the diverse races and creeds of this country, and which secures to them the blessings of internal peace and tranquillity; and during my stay in India I shall spare no effort, so far as in me lies, to fortify, to diffuse, and to encourage that feeling.

I have seen it somewhere stated that I am expected, on this the first occasion that I speak on Indian soil, to say something of the principles which are likely to be the basis of my administration. I hold myself dispensed from any such obligation for more reasons than one. In the first place, I have, before leaving England, given halting expression to the spirit, at any rate, in which I approach this undertaking, and the fact that you have in your address quoted with approval some of the sentiments to which I then gave utterance leads me to think that I need not repeat them now. In the second place, it would be presumptuous to assume that any one Viceroy enters upon his office with a conception of its duties more generous or more exacting than his predecessors. Each of them, as he has landed on this quay, has doubtless felt that he has been summoned to no mean calling, and has mentally resolved that justice

and magnanimity, that sympathy and prudence, shall be the keynotes of his administration. I remember that a great countryman of mine,[1] on being sent to take up a mission, not indeed comparable with this, but one that brought him into contact with religions and races different from his own, in a remote and difficult country, said that he went out to hold the scales even. Such might be no contemptible motto for a Viceroy of India. For with what a mosaic of nationalities and interests he is confronted—with his own countrymen, few in number, and scattered far and wide under a trying climate in a foreign land, and with the manifold races and beliefs, so composite and yet so divergent, of the indigenous population, in its swarming and ever-multiplying millions. To hold the scales even under such conditions is a task that calls indeed for supple fingers and for nerves of steel. But there is another reflection that leads me to place some restriction upon anything that I may say about the future. No one can be more conscious than myself that the verdict to be passed upon my administration depends not upon glittering promise or fair prophecy now, but upon actual performance later on. The time for rejoicing is not when a man putteth on his armour, but when he taketh it off. I thank you for your friendly greeting, because no man can be insensible to the encouragement of a generous welcome. But I shall be tenfold better pleased if, when I weigh anchor from these shores, and when all eyes are turned towards my successor, any of you who are now present can come forward truthfully to testify that during my time I have done something, if it even be but little, for this land, which, next to my own country, is nearest to my heart.[2]

In your Address you call my attention to the fact that, during the past few years, India has been subject to the triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine, and that your own Presidency has suffered sorely from the

[1] General Gordon, on one of his earlier African missions.

[2] *Vide* the allusion to this passage in Lord Curzon's farewell speech at the Byculla Club, Bombay, seven years later, vol. ii. p. 315.

ravages of the two latter in particular. In England our hearts have gone out to you in your trouble—our purse-strings have, as you know, been unloosened on your behalf. The unceasing and devoted efforts of your rulers—of the present illustrious Viceroy,[1] and in this place of your Governor,[2] whose application to the onerous work imposed upon him by the plague has excited widespread gratitude and admiration—have, I believe, enabled India to cope with these trials in a manner more successful than on any previous occasions. In this great city the patience of your people, the voluntary co-operation of your leading citizens, and the natural vitality of your resources have greatly assisted in the work of recuperation; and I would fain believe that the corner has now been turned and that an era of reviving prosperity is already beginning to dawn. To that movement it will be my agreeable duty to lend whatever impulse I can; and it is with feelings of sympathy that I regard, and shall take an early opportunity of inquiring into, the great undertaking to which, with so marked a combination of courage and wisdom, you are about to address yourselves in Bombay.[3] In conclusion, it only remains for me to thank you for the gracious welcome that you have extended, along with myself, to Lady Curzon. She comes to this country with predispositions not less favourable and with sympathies not less warm than mine; and with me she looks forward with earnest delight to a life of labour, but of happy labour, in your midst. Allow me, Sir, to thank you in conclusion for the Address, and for the handsome and artistic casket in which it is enclosed.

[1] The Earl of Elgin.
[2] Lord Sandhurst.
[3] The City Improvement, since carried into execution by a specially constituted Trust.

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GENERAL

DURBAR AT LUCKNOW

On December 13, 1899, the Viceroy held a Durbar at Lucknow, for the reception of the Talukdars and other Durbaris of Oudh. The proceedings took place in a large tent pitched in the Martinière Park, and the total number present was over 1000. The Viceroy delivered the following speech:—

In the concluding stages of a tour which, while it has been one of hard work and of some strain, has yet taught me much and enabled me to see much that a Viceroy of India ought to know, it is with no small pleasure that I meet, in the dignified and time-honoured function of a Durbar, so famous and so loyal a body of Her Majesty's subjects as the Talukdars of Oudh. Already, upon my arrival in Calcutta, you have paid me the compliment of an Address of welcome, presented to me by the hands of your President, the Maharaja of Ajudhya. And now, in the historic capital of your own province, to which so many memories cling that are dear both to your race and mine, the opportunity is presented to me of returning the compliment, and of receiving you in a manner befitting the rank and traditions of the Talukdars of Oudh.

I regard a Durbar as an occasion of no ordinary significance; not merely because of its picturesque and stately ceremonial, or of its harmony with the venerated traditions of an ancient polity, as because of the opportunity which it furnishes to a Viceroy to meet in becoming surroundings the leading men in the community, and

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to exchange with them those formal assurances which to my mind are invested with a much more than conventional courtesy, inasmuch as they are the real foundation-stones of the stable fabric of Her Majesty's Indian Empire. Open speech and clear understanding between the Queen's representative and her trusted lieges are essential to the solidarity of a dominion which is built upon the co-operation of both; and while I am honoured by holding my present office, I shall welcome, instead of shrinking from, any occasion for such an interchange of confidence and renewal of understanding. Indeed to me it seems that the times have passed by when rulers, or the deputies of rulers, can anywhere live with impunity amid the clouds of Olympus. They must descend from the hilltops and visit the haunts of men. They must speak to their fellows in their own tongue, and must be one in purpose and in heart with the people. Only so will they justify their high station; only so will their authority be free from challenge, because it will be founded upon trust.

It was in such a spirit that Lord Canning came to Lucknow in October 1859, to obliterate the scars of the Mutiny, and to inaugurate the new régime of generous clemency and benefaction to which the Talukdars of Oudh owe their status and their rights. In this assemblage to-day there are doubtless some who remember that historic occasion, and call to mind the assurance of Lord Canning, that so long as the Talukdars remained loyal and faithful subjects and just masters, their rights and dignities should be upheld by every representative of the Queen, and that no man should disturb them. It was in pursuit and in confirmation of Lord Canning's policy that Sir John Lawrence came here in 1867, to acknowledge the liberal manner in which the Talukdars had met his efforts to mitigate certain hardships which had resulted from the arrangements of 1858. It was in a similar spirit that, in 1882, Lord Ripon received the Talukdars upon the very spot where Lord Canning had presented to them their charter twenty-three years before.

And while it is on the same site, it is also, I assure you, in an identical spirit, that after a further lapse of seventeen years another Viceroy has come here to-day to renew to you the friendly assurances of the sovereign power, and to mark yet another stage in the history of the undisturbed and happy relations that subsist between the Talukdars and the British Government. It was not till I had ascertained from inquiry that you yourselves were most anxious that this Durbar should be held, and that you recognised in it a compliment to your position as well as a confirmation of your privileges, that I arranged with Sir Antony MacDonnell[1] for the ceremony of this afternoon.

I am not one of those persons who would venture to claim that the policy of the British Government in India has always or everywhere been distinguished by consistency, or foresight, or wisdom. We have made many experiments, and we have perpetrated some failures. I am not sure that Oudh has not been the scene of some of these experiments, and perhaps also the witness of some of these failures. We have sometimes poured new wine very hastily into old bottles, and have been surprised if they have burst in our hands. But whatever the errors or miscalculations of British government in the past, we may, I think, claim with truth that we do not depart from our pledged word, and that British honour is still the basis, as it is the safeguard, of British administration. It was once said by the most brilliant writer who has yet devoted his genius to the illumination of Anglo-Indian history,[2] that "English valour and English intelligence have done less to extend and to preserve our Oriental Empire than English veracity." I agree with those words. Where the faith of Government has been pledged, there, even at loss to ourselves, at the sacrifice of our material interests, and sometimes even to our political detriment, we have, so far as my knowledge extends, uniformly held to our bond, and I

[1] Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces and Oudh.
[2] Lord Macaulay.

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hope shall continue to do so to the end. If ultimately we have profited by this conduct, no such considerations of expediency, believe me, have been our motive. We have pursued justice and truth, it may be sometimes with faltering steps, but for their own sake and for that alone.

Our relations with the Province of Oudh afford a not inapt illustration of steadfast adherence to this high standard of public honour. For forty years our policy towards Oudh has never deviated from the ideal which, when the Mutiny was over, was deliberately accepted and promulgated by Lord Canning, and at a later date was ratified by Sir John Lawrence, viz. that of maintaining the existence and privileges, guaranteed by binding engagements, of the landed aristocracy of this province. With this object have been devised the various measures of legislation that have from time to time been passed with reference to the Land Question in Oudh—the Oudh Estates Act of 1869, the Talukdars' Relief Act of 1870, the Oudh Rent Act of 1886. It is with the same object in view that your present Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Antony MacDonnell, has recently framed the Settled Estates Bill, which, with a patience worthy of the statesman, and with the anxious desire to consider every point of view, and to conciliate all reasonable opposition, that has uniformly characterised his public career, he has successfully guided through the earlier stages of its inception and introduction.

It is unfortunately but too true that some members at any rate of your body have fallen upon evil times, and that the pressure of financial embarrassment, due sometimes to extravagance and folly, but sometimes also to the force of circumstances beyond human control, has resulted in the increasing transfer and alienation—in other words, in the breaking up—of the estates which it has always been the desire of the British Government, equally with yourselves, to conserve. From these dangers, the unarrested progress of which would be fraught with mischief to the entire community, the

Talukdars themselves petitioned the Government to find for them some relief; and it is in deference to this request that the Bill of which I speak has been drawn up and brought in.

It rests with yourselves whether, when this Bill has been passed into law, you take advantage of it or not. In deference to our engagements, in faithful execution of our pledged word, we cannot and we should not propose to dictate to you a curtailment of rights which, if acceptable to some, might be superfluous and obnoxious to others. We can but provide the means by which, without prejudice to the legitimate rights of creditors, those of you who desire to ensure the maintenance of their hereditary estates by direct settlement may be able to do so. If the Court of Wards Bill, which has been introduced and passed by the Local Legislature with the same disinterested and conservative aim, be regarded by the Talukdars as the supplement of the Settled Estates Bill, to whose successful operation it should lend a great reinforcement of strength, I see no reason why you should not obtain speedy and permanent relief from the embarrassments of which you complain. But I repeat that, the Government having played their part, it is now for you to play yours, in the same temper of loyalty and good faith that has uniformly marked your relations with the Supreme Government since the present system began.

Everywhere throughout India I observe an increasing spirit of public activity, and an awakening to the conditions of modern life, which convince me that the conservatism of the most conservative of countries is not incompatible with a keen recognition of the necessities of an age of progress. The spread of railways, the increase of education, the diffusion of the Press, the construction of public works, the expansion of manufacturing and industrial undertakings, all of these bespeak, not the placid reveries of the recluse who is absorbed in abstract thought or in numb contemplation of the past, but the eager yearnings of a fresh and

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buoyant life. This spirit, as is natural, is most visible in the great centres of population, and in the districts which are traversed by main lines of rail. But it is also penetrating to unconsidered corners, and is slowly leavening the mighty mass. In this province, the natural richness of which has caused it to be designated the "garden of India," you have greatly profited by recent railway extensions, and you possess a railroad system which, running parallel in the main to the course of your great rivers, with frequent lateral connections, appears to be well adapted to the exploitation of your abundant resources. We hope, before any very long time has elapsed, to supply you with a further connecting link, in the shape of the Allahabad-Fyzabad line, with a bridge across the Ganges.[1] This important link, together with shorter communication with Lucknow, should be of great benefit to the province.

The name of Lord Canning, to whom you owe so much, is perpetuated in the title of the College which exists in this city. It is not an unfitting tribute to his memory that the Talukdars should have lent so consistent a support to the Canning College since its institution thirty-five years ago; and I am glad also to be informed that you take an equal interest in the Colvin Institute, specially designed as it was for the education of your sons. While you thus show that you are not indifferent to the claims of higher education, to which we owe in so large a measure the development of that growing energy and vitality of which I have already spoken, pray remember that among your tenants in the country villages and districts are many to whom higher education will never be anything more than a riddle, but to whom you owe it that their elementary education shall be something more than a name. In the ingenious glosses and paraphrases to which a Viceroy's utterances in India are not infrequently exposed, he is apt to find that praise of one thing is interpreted as involving

[1] The line and bridge were opened in the month after Lord Curzon left India in 1905.

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unconscious disparagement of another. When I praise you, therefore, for your support of the higher education of your sons and families, I must not be understood to deprecate the claims of primary education among the masses of the people; and when I invite your attention to the great importance of the latter subject, I must not be supposed to be offering an affront to the former. Only, in proportion as the peasant population is poor and backward and helpless, so is the responsibility greater that is devolved upon their superiors to furnish them with the rudimentary means by which they may raise themselves in the world.

In Oudh may be observed a happy reproduction of a system with which we are very familiar in England, where the traditions and the spirit of territorial responsibility, resulting from the growth of centuries, are exceptionally strong. There we find the country gentleman sitting in gratuitous and voluntary discharge of the administration of justice among his neighbours, to their complete satisfaction, and with no small advantage, in the shape of increased knowledge and power of good, to himself. I am glad to think that this graft from an English stock, which after all is only an adaptation in Western forms of a custom familiar in the East, has found so congenial a climate in the Province of Oudh; and I should like to tender my thanks to those native gentlemen who have thus assisted Government by acting as Honorary Magistrates. Every case which by a simple and straightforward decision they succeed in keeping out of the Law Courts involves, in my judgment, not merely a saving of expense, friction, and heart-burning to the parties concerned, but also a positive service to the community.

Finally, let me say with what satisfaction I have met to-day in this great assemblage and have had presented to me a number of chiefs, some of them the sons or grandsons of those who stood by us in the great hour of trial forty-two years ago, some of them—a dwindling number—the still surviving actors in those solemn and

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immortal scenes. I have noticed upon the breasts of others here present—a seamed and gallant band—the medals that tell me of participation in the defence of the Residency, of lives risked and of blood shed in the cause of the British Government, with which was indissolubly bound up, in the agony of that fateful struggle, the cause of order as against anarchy, of civilisation as against chaos. Standing here at this distance of time, I, who am of a later generation, and was not even born when these brave men performed the deeds at which the whole world has since gazed with admiring awe, count it as among my highest privileges that I should see the faces, and, as Her Majesty's representative, receive the homage of these illustrious veterans. Still prouder and more inspiring is the thought that in this great Durbar, where are gathered in loyal harmony with our old allies the descendants of some who took another part, I may read the lesson of the Great Reconciliation, and may point the eternal moral that mercy is more powerful than vengeance.

ADDRESS FROM BOMBAY MUNICIPALITY

In November 1900 Lord Curzon visited Bombay for the third time during his administration, and on the 9th drove in State to the Town Hall, where he was presented with a special Address of welcome from the Municipal Corporation. The Address referred to the manner in which the Viceroy had redeemed the pledges which he had given when first assuming office, and said that in the short period of two years he had "won their hearts, captured the imaginations, and extorted the respect and admiration of the whole country." The Viceroy replied as follows:—

When I landed at the Apollo Bunder in December 1898, I little thought that, within less than two years' time, I should twice again visit this great city. Still less could I have anticipated that, within so short a

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period of my assuming office, I should be deemed worthy of the honour of such a ceremony as that of this morning. It is, as you know, the trials and the sufferings through which Bombay has been passing that have brought me back into this Presidency upon the two occasions to which I have referred. It is your gracious recognition of the motive that actuated these visits—a recognition very characteristic of the warm-hearted Indian people—that has brought me to this Town Hall to-day, and has made me the recipient of the exquisite and sumptuous gift in which the Address that has just been read from the Bombay Corporation will henceforward be enclosed.

You have said with truth in this Address that the troubles by which India in general, and this Presidency perhaps more particularly, have been afflicted, have gone on increasing and multiplying during the past two years. Lord Elgin thought that he had coped with the worst famine of the century: we have now gone through a worse. It was hoped that plague would soon be extirpated from your midst; but it has grown into an annual visitor, whom, in spite of all our efforts, we can neither altogether elude nor defeat. True, there is one calamity which we have been fortunate enough to escape during our time of trial, and that is warfare in our own territory or upon our frontiers. Indeed, the most striking incident in recent Indian history, the most conclusive testimony to the loyalty of her princes and people, and the most absolute demonstration of the reality of the peace that we have enjoyed, is the fact that we have spared between 20,000 and 30,000 soldiers from the Indian Army for the wars being waged elsewhere by the forces of the Queen, and have thus not unhandsomely borne our share in that great outburst of Imperial sentiment that has marked the disappearance of the old century and the opening of the new.

You have been good enough to speak in terms of praise of the manner in which we have met our misfortunes. I do not take this praise to myself. For

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instance, in our struggle with plague and famine, the Captain can do little but frame his orders, see closely to their execution, keep an eye upon every part of the field, and encourage his men. When, therefore, I see or hear the head of the Government praised for the efficiency or liberality of the measures that have been taken, or given the credit for their success, I feel almost a sense of shame. For I think of all the accumulated advice and experience that have been freely placed at his disposal by those who know so much more than he; and I remember the brave men who, with no reward to hope for, and no public applause to urge them on, have, for month after month, whether in the scorching heat or through the soaking rains, spent of their energy and life-blood and strength in fighting the real battle, wherever the enemy threatened or the worst danger lay. Theirs is the true credit; and it is only on their behalf, and as their official head, that I can accept with contentment what I could not, without injustice, appropriate to myself.

You have also spoken of the impartial administration of justice, not so much in the Law Courts, since they are independent of official control, as in the exercise of executive and administrative authority, as having been the guiding principle which I have borne in view. It is true that I have tried never to lose sight of the motto, which I set before myself when I landed here, namely, to hold the scales even.[1] Experience has shown me that it is not always an easy task; but experience has also convinced me that it is always the right one. If a man is to succeed in carrying it out, he must expect sometimes to be abused, and frequently to be misunderstood. By one party he will be suspected of disloyalty to the rights of his countrymen; by the other, of imperfect sympathy with its aspirations or its aims. Everyone appreciates the advantages of an umpire. But there are always some players of the game who think that the main duty of that functionary is to give

[1] *Vide* p. 17, and vol. ii. p. 315.

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their own side in. I sometimes note symptoms of this tendency in India. One side interprets an act of justice as a concession to clamour; the other laments that it does not straight away secure all the articles of an impossible charter.[1] These little drawbacks may sometimes worry and sometimes impede; but they do not for one moment affect the conviction with which I started two years ago, and which I now hold, if possible, more strongly still, that it is by native confidence in British justice that the loyalty of the Indian peoples is assured. Any man who, either by force or by fraud, shakes that confidence, is dealing a blow at British dominion in India. If to justice we can add that form of mercy which is best expressed by the word consideration, and which is capable of showing itself in almost every act and incident of life, we have, I think, a key that will open most Indian hearts. A century ago there was a very intelligent and observant French priest, the Abbé Dubois, who spent thirty years of his life in India, and who wrote a most admirable book upon the manners and customs and feelings of the people.[2] I quote him because, as a foreigner and a Catholic missionary, he could not be suspected of any undue partiality to the British Government, and because as a Frenchman, with the memory of the French dominion in India, of which the British arms had only recently robbed his countrymen, fresh in his mind, he could hardly be expected to bless the conquerors. This was what he wrote: "The justice and prudence which the present rulers display in endeavouring to make these people less unhappy than they have hitherto been; the anxiety which they manifest in increasing their material comfort; above all, the inviolable respect which they constantly show for the customs and religious beliefs of the country; and, lastly, the protection which

[1] The extreme native Press persisted in seeing in this remark an allusion to the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. The remark was general, and no such idea entered the mind of the speaker.

[2] *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies.* Translated by H. K. Beauchamp. 2 vols. 1897.

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they afford to the weak as well as to the strong—all these have contributed more to the consolidation of their power than even their victories and conquests." Gentlemen, the era of victories and conquests is now over, but the other and more abiding source of strength remains; and an English Viceroy may safely repeat at the dawn of the twentieth century what the French Abbé said at the opening of the nineteenth as to the character and motives of British rule in this country.

I was asked the other day whether, after two years' Indian experience, I had at all changed the views to which I have often given expression regarding the importance of the part that is played by India in the structure of the British Empire. My answer was that they have not been changed, but confirmed. In the writings of a political philosopher I recently came across the astounding utterance that "there is more true greatness within a two miles' radius of the British Museum than in the whole of Asia." In my judgment this was a very arrogant and a very foolish remark. It is a proposition to which history is every day giving the lie. It is the Eastern and not the Western problems that continue to agitate the world, and Asia has still to be disposed of before the intellect of the West can exclusively concentrate itself upon Western concerns. The past year has, moreover, been one which has conspicuously demonstrated the part that is played by India in the Imperial system. It was the prompt despatch of a contingent of the Indian Army a year ago that saved the Colony of Natal. They were Indian regiments who accomplished the rescue of the Legations at Peking. We have rendered this service to the Empire in a year when we have been distracted by famine and plague, and weighed down by our own troubles. If our arm reaches as far as China in the East, and South Africa in the West, who can doubt the range of our influence, or the share of India in Imperial destinies?

I have also been asked, since I came to India, whether I was at all disillusioned with my work, and whether my

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love for the country had at all diminished. Again my answer has been in the negative. The work to be done seems to me just as important; the opportunities for doing it to be even more numerous. More than a century ago the orator Burke remarked that the British Empire in India was an awful thing. He had not seen it; he had only studied it from a distance of 10,000 miles; and the Empire of which he spoke was but a fraction of that which now acknowledges the sway of the British Crown. If it was awful a hundred years ago, what is it now? Is not the custody of the lives and fortunes of 300 millions of human beings—between one-fourth and one-fifth of the entire human race—a responsibility that might daunt the boldest energy and sober the flightiest imagination? Moreover, they are not members of one race, or even of a few races, but of a swarm of races. As I go about on tour and see the people in the streets, the difference to the outward eye is enormous. A street crowd in Lahore does not present the smallest resemblance to one in Bombay. Bombay is utterly unlike Calcutta. And what is this external difference compared with that within, the difference of feature compared with that of character and creed? And again, what are any of these differences compared with those that separate the huge Indian majority from the microscopic British minority to whom their rule has been committed? These are the commonplace everyday reflections that are borne in upon me every hour that I spend in this country. How can a man be anything but absorbed, anything but enthusiastic, about such a work? Every day some fresh thing seems to require doing, some new subject demands to be taken up. There is, I know, a school who say, "Leave well alone. You are in the unchanging East. Don't worry yourself unduly about reform. No one ever wanted to be reformed in Asia." Gentlemen, do you remember the answer of the economist Turgot, in the reign of Louis XVI. of France? He was always pushing fresh reforms. Perhaps if he had pushed even more, there would have

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been no French Revolution. When his friends came to him and said that he was going ahead too quickly, he replied, "You forget that in my family we do not live beyond fifty." If this was the defence of the French statesman, may not a Viceroy of India reply to a similar charge, "You forget that I have only five years—five years within which to affect the movement, or to influence the out-turn, of this mighty machine"? For such a task every year seems a minute, every minute a second,—one might almost say that there is hardly time to begin.

There is one respect in which it has been my constant endeavour to infuse an element of the modern spirit into Indian administration. I can see no reason why, in India as elsewhere, the official hierarchy should not benefit by public opinion. Official wisdom is not so transcendent as to be superior to this form of stimulus and guidance. Indeed, my inclination where Government is attacked is not to assume that the critic must inevitably be wrong, but that it is quite conceivable that he may be right. In any case, I inquire. Of course, it is easy to disparage public opinion in a continent like India; to say that it is either the opinion of the merchants, or the Civil Service, or the Army, or of amateurs in general; or, if it be native public opinion, that it only represents the views of the infinitesimal fraction who are educated. No doubt this is true. But all these are the various sections upon whose intelligent co-operation the Government depends. To the masses we can give little more than security and material comfort in their humble lives. They have not reached a pitch of development at which they can lend us anything more than a passive support. But the opinion of the educated classes is one that it is not statesmanship to ignore or to despise. I do not say that one should always defer to it. If a ruler of India were to adopt all the wild suggestions that are made to him by the various organs of public opinion, he would bring the fabric of Indian Government toppling down in a month. Neither must he carry deference to the pitch of subordination; for I can conceive nothing

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more unfortunate, or more calamitous, than that Government should abrogate one jot or tittle of its own responsibility. A benevolent despotism that yielded to agitation would find that, in sacrificing its despotism, it had also lost its benevolence. All these are truisms which no one will dispute. But there remain a multitude of ways in which Government may endeavour, and in my opinion should endeavour, to enlist public opinion upon its side. It can hearken to both sides of a case; it can take the public into its confidence by explaining what to the official mind seems simple enough, but to the outside public may appear quite obscure; in framing its legislation it can profit by external advice, instead of relying solely upon the arcana of official wisdom. It can look sympathetically into grievances instead of arbitrarily snuffing them out. These, at any rate, are the principles upon which I have tried, during the past two years, to conduct the administration of India, and they seem to have been so far successful as to win approval at your hands.

Let me add, in conclusion, that it is in the power of public opinion in this country to repay the compliment. It can very materially strengthen the hands, and lighten the task, of the head of the Government. If he is so fortunate as to possess its support, there are many things which he can undertake which otherwise he would be tempted to leave on one side. A Prime Minister in England is strong in proportion to the Parliamentary strength of his party. A Member of Parliament is strong in his constituency in proportion to the size of his majority. In this country, if the analogy may be pursued, all India are the constituents of the Viceroy, and his strength is proportionate to their confidence. I gladly welcome this opportunity of conveying my thanks to those who have so ungrudgingly given me their trust during the short time that I have held my present post; and I hope that it may be continued to me, easing my burden and invigorating my spirits, until the end.

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PRESENTATION OF FREEDOM OF CITY OF LONDON

On July 20, 1904, Lord Curzon, while in England during the interval between his first and second terms of office, was presented with the Freedom of the City of London in the Guildhall. In reply to the address of the City Chamberlain, Sir Joseph Dimsdale, he spoke as follows:—

Let me begin by thanking the Chamberlain very warmly for his kind reference to Lady Curzon. Though, as he remarked, not officially present here to-day, she is yet in this hall to hear the courteous things that he said about her, and with which, in regard to the assistance she has rendered to me and to the work that she has done in India, I venture cordially to associate myself.

My Lord Mayor, I do not suppose that there is any honour which a public man can value more highly than the Freedom of the City of London. No fee can purchase it, no conqueror can claim it as his own; it is the free gift of the corporation of the greatest city in the world, and it has the added dignity of the associations that accompany it, and the memory of the illustrious names with which each fresh recipient is proud to find his own enrolled. But the honour seems to me to carry an especial grace when it is conferred upon those servants of the Crown who have been serving their country in distant parts, for it shows them that in their absence they have not been altogether forgotten, and that those of you who are at the heart of the Empire are not indifferent to what is passing on the outskirts.

By a law which was designed for different times, and which, in my opinion, is now obsolete, no Viceroy of India can leave India for England, whatever the urgency, public or private, without vacating his office;[1] and so it

[1] 33 Geo. III. c. 52, § 37, repeated in 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 85, § 73. Under these Acts neither the Governor-General, nor the Commander-in-Chief, nor the Governors of Madras and Bombay, can "depart from India

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is that a man may be absent, as I have been, from his country for an unbroken period of five and a half years without sight or sound of home. During his long exile the weight and isolation of his great post tell heavily upon him. Fatigue of body and spirit often press him down; the volume of work that he has to discharge is such as no man who has not undertaken it can well imagine. You may judge, therefore, what a reward—I had almost said, what a tonic to body and soul—is such a reception as this to such a man; how his heart warms within him at the sympathetic recognition of his countrymen, and how fresh courage and spirit are infused into him to go forth again and renew his task.

My Lord Mayor, the City Chamberlain in his speech has drawn an appreciative and flattering picture of some of the aspects of the administration with which I have been concerned. If I detected in some of his remarks the too generous partiality of one old Etonian for another, I am yet conscious of the service that he has rendered to India by inviting the attention of this representative assemblage to some features in our recent administration.

May I also take advantage of the present opportunity to say a few words to my countrymen about the great charge—the greatest that is anywhere borne by the English people,—nay, more, in my judgment the most onerous and the most impressive that has ever rested upon the shoulders of a conquering and civilised race? I sometimes think that the most remarkable thing about British rule in India is the general ignorance that

with intent to return to Europe" without thereby vacating his office. It was because of this provision of the law that Lord Curzon ceased to be Viceroy during the interval between his first and second terms of office, Lord Ampthill, as the senior in standing of the two Presidency Governors, being appointed under the Act of 1861 (24 and 25 Vict. c. 67, §§ 50-51) to officiate during his absence. Lord Curzon was himself of opinion that the earlier law, by which leave of any kind is denied to the above-named high officials alone of all the public servants of the Empire, ought to be repealed; but His Majesty's Government have never so far consented to the proposal.

prevails about it in England. Seventy years ago Lord Macaulay said, in his speech about the Government of India, that a broken head in Coldbath Fields produced a greater sensation amongst us than three pitched battles in India. Twenty years later Lord Dalhousie, that celebrated proconsul, wrote that nothing short of a great victory or a great defeat in India was sufficient to create in English society even a transient interest in Indian affairs. If these are the tests of English interest in India, then, my Lords, any such service as it may have been in my power to render must be, indeed, unknown. But I think that things have somewhat advanced since those days. Communications have greatly improved between the two countries; postal and telegraphic charges have been cheapened; more cold-weather visitors come out to us in India every year; and there is always an intelligent minority of persons here who follow, with the utmost interest, everything that goes on there. Yet, in its main essentials, the indictment still remains true, and you have only to look at the morning newspapers, with rare exceptions—and there are exceptions; for instance, I was delighted to see, only a day or two ago, that the *Times* has announced its intention of recommencing the series of periodical articles upon India which those of us who are interested in that country used to read with so much delight in bygone days—I say you have only to look at the newspapers to see that, with rare exceptions, the average Englishman is much more concerned in the latest football or cricket match, in a motor trial, or a wrestling encounter, than he is in the greatest responsibility that has been undertaken by his fellow-countrymen on the face of the earth. Even if he looks abroad he sees more and hears more about the 11,000,000 who inhabit the Colonies than he does about the 300,000,000 who inhabit India. In the happiness of our insular detachment, or in the pride of racial expansion, he forgets that the greatest constituent of the Empire in scale and in importance lies neither in these islands, nor in the Colonies, but in our Asiatic dependency. It is true that for this

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ignorance and want of proportion on his part there is abundant excuse. Here are our own people; this is the hearthstone of the Empire and the nursery of the race; these islands must always be our first concern; even the Colonies are, in a sense, only one stage more distant, because they are peopled by our own kith and kin. India, on the other hand, is very remote and very unintelligible, and the average Englishman, if only he hears nothing about it from day to day, is apt to think that matters must be going on sufficiently well.

My Lords and gentlemen, I have always ventured to hold a different idea about British rule in India. To me it is the greatest thing that the English people have done, or are doing now; it is the highest touchstone of national duty. If the nations of the earth were to stand up to be judged by some supreme tribunal, I think that upon our European record, or upon our colonial record, we should survive the test. But if there were the slightest hesitation on the part of the judge or jury I would confidently throw our Indian record into the scales. For where else in the world has a race gone forth and subdued, not a country or a kingdom, but a continent, and that continent peopled, not by savage tribes, but by races with traditions and a civilisation older than our own, with a history not inferior to ours in dignity or romance; subduing them not to the law of the sword, but to the rule of justice, bringing peace and order and good government to nearly one-fifth of the entire human race, and holding them with so mild a restraint that the rulers are the merest handful amongst the ruled, a tiny speck of white foam upon a dark and thunderous ocean? I hope I am no rhapsodist, but I say that I would as soon be a citizen of the country that has wrought this deed as I would be of the country that defeated the Armada or produced Hampden and Pitt.

But we all live in a severely practical age, and I can afford to be rather more concrete in my illustrations. I should like to convey to this audience some idea of the part that India is capable of playing, nay, of the part

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that it has recently played, in the Imperial burden. As I say, my illustrations shall be drawn from recent history and from my own experience. Two of them have been mentioned by the City Chamberlain in his speech. If you want to save your Colony of Natal from being overrun by a formidable enemy, you ask India for help, and she gives it; if you want to rescue the white men's legislations from massacre at Peking, and the need is urgent, you request the Government of India to despatch an expedition, and they despatch it; if you are fighting the Mad Mullah in Somaliland, you soon discover that Indian troops and an Indian general are best qualified for the task, and you ask the Government of India to send them; if you desire to defend any of your extreme outposts or coaling stations of the Empire, Aden, Mauritius, Singapore, Hong-kong, even Tien-tsin or Shan-hai-kwan, it is to the Indian Army that you turn; if you want to build a railway to Uganda or in the Soudan, you apply for Indian labour. When the late Mr. Rhodes was engaged in developing your recent acquisition of Rhodesia, he came to me for assistance. It is with Indian coolie labour that you exploit the plantations equally of Demerara and Natal; with Indian trained officers that you irrigate Egypt and dam the Nile; with Indian forest officers that you tap the resources of Central Africa and Siam; with Indian surveyors that you explore all the hidden places of the earth.

Speaking before an audience such as this, I should wish, if I had time, my Lord Mayor, also to demonstrate that, in my opinion, India is a country where there will be much larger openings for the investment of capital in the future than has hitherto been the case, and where a great work of industrial and commercial exploitation lies before us.

Then, again, how familiar we are in recent times with the argument that India is the vulnerable point of the Empire. And assuredly it is true that if we were engaged in a great international war—which God forbid—it is not at Dover or London that one, at any rate, of

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your possible antagonists would strike. He would not bombard Quebec or land a force in Sydney Harbour. It is in Asia that the pressure would be applied; it is your Indian frontier that would bear the brunt. It is there or thereabouts, in all probability, that the future of your dominion might be decided.

There is an old proverb which says, "He that England fain would win, must with Ireland first begin." I have always thought that this was rather a dubious compliment to our brothers across St. George's Channel, but I suppose it alludes to the times when the foreign enemy who had aggressive intentions upon us used to begin his invasion in that quarter. At all events, if you were now to substitute "India" for "Ireland" in the refrain, I do not think you would be so very far from the mark. I hope I have said enough, therefore, my Lords and gentlemen, to show you that you cannot afford to leave India out of your calculations. She is as important to you as you are beneficial to her. In the world-politics of the future believe me that India will play an increasing part, and a time will come when in our reformed Board Schools the average English boy will require to know more about India than he does now, will require to know as much about India as he now does about Marathon or Waterloo.

I grant, my Lord Mayor, that the features of government in the two countries are very different; and perhaps this is the main cause of the ignorance and misconception to which I have referred. We have in India a good many of the problems that you have here, but they are magnified almost beyond recognition by the complexity of the factors and the immensity of the scale. We also have our own problems, to which, in the tranquil uniformity of life in these islands, you are fortunately strangers. You have not the perpetual and harassing anxiety of a land frontier 5700 miles in length, peopled by hundreds of different tribes, most of them inured to religious fanaticism and hereditary rapine. A single outbreak at a single point may set entire sections of that

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frontier ablaze. Then, beyond it, we are brought into direct contact with the picturesque but perilous debility of independent, or quasi-independent, Asiatic States, some of them incurably diseased, and hastening to their fall; and behind them, again, are the muffled figures of great European Powers, advancing nearer and nearer, and sometimes finding in these conditions temptations to action that is not in strict accordance with the interests which we are bound to defend. That, my Lord Mayor, is the external problem of India.

Then, if we look within, whereas you in England have a population that is relatively homogeneous, we have to deal in India with races that are as different from each other as the Esquimaux is from the Spaniard or the Irishman from the Turk, with creeds that range between the extreme points of the basest animalism on the one hand and the most exalted metaphysics on the other, and with standards of life that cover the whole space between barbarism and civilisation. You have here an aristocracy that is drawn from the people, and that goes back to it. Our aristocracy in India consists of native Chiefs of diverse races, many of them as much aliens to the people as we are ourselves, presenting every variety of status and privilege, from the magnificent potentates that you sometimes see in this country to the pettiest landed proprietor.

You hardly know here what the phrase "land revenue" means. In India it is the be-all and end-all of millions of the population, and it is the mainspring of our internal administration. In England your railways are built, managed, and financed by private enterprise; in India they are one of the chief charges of Government. I remember that it fell to me, as Viceroy, to issue orders, on my own responsibility, for the better accommodation of native passengers in third-class carriages. Here, in England, your education problem, as any Parliamentarian present will bear me out, is thorny enough; but it is as nothing compared with ours in India, where we are trying to graft the science of the West on to an Eastern

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stem; where we have to deal with religious differences compared with which all your sectarian animosities sink into the shade; where we have a chaos of languages, and stages of mental organisation that extend, as I have remarked, from the transcendentalist to the savage.

Then, here in England, you do not know what famine is. My Lord Mayor, I thank the Chamberlain for the remarks that he made on that subject in his address. It is quite true that I had to administer in India the greatest famine that has befallen that country in modern times within the range to which it applied, and I can assure you that it is an experience that would wring blood from stone. You have your sunshine and storms, your drought and floods, in this country, but you do not know the awful possibilities that are summed up in the single word "monsoon," and which spell the difference in India between life and death to areas in any one of which the whole of the United Kingdom might be swallowed up. You have your suffering and destitution, but you have not such an appalling visitor as the plague —the plague, now in its seventh year in India, defying analysis, defeating the utmost efforts of medical skill and administrative energy, inscrutable in its origin, merciless in its ravages, sweeping off, as our records show, very often thousands in a day and tens of thousands in a week. Then, above all, your public men in England have not before them the haunting question that is always before us in India, like a riddle of the Sphinx— what is in the heart of all those sombre millions, whither are we leading them, what is it all to come to, where is the goal?

Such, my Lord Mayor, are some of the superficial differences between the problem of government in India and in England. They are, I think, sufficient to show you that those who are charged with the government of that great dependency can seldom have a careless moment or an idle hour. They are weighed down with incessant anxiety, with an almost overpowering responsi-

bility, and with unending toil. But I can assure you that every one of them, from the Governor-General down to the youngest civilian, is proud of the duty, and resolved to do justice to it; and when the commander is called up and praised, a thrill runs down the ranks, and encourages the latest joined private in the lines.

Sir Joseph Dimsdale said something about the character of the work in which we have been engaged during the past five years. My Lord Mayor, it has been a work of reform and reconstruction. Epochs arise in the history of every country when the administrative machinery requires to be taken to pieces and overhauled, and readjusted to the altered necessities or the growing demands of the hour. The engines are not working to their scheduled capacity, the engineers are perhaps slack or overborne. I agree with those who inscribe on their administrative banners the motto "Efficiency." But my conception of efficiency is to practise as well as to preach it. It is with this object that we have conducted an inquiry in India into every aspect of the administration. First we began with the departments themselves, the offices of Government, revising the conditions under which they work, freeing them from the impediments of excessive writing, with its consequences of strangulation of all initiative and dilatoriness in action. Then we proceeded to investigate every branch of the Government in turn. We endeavoured to frame a plague policy which should not do violence to the instincts and sentiments of the native population; a famine policy which should profit by the experience of the past and put us in a position to cope with the next visitation when unhappily it bursts upon us; an education policy which should free the intellectual activities of the Indian people, so keen and restless as they are, from the paralysing clutch of examinations; a railway policy that will provide administratively and financially for the great extension that we believe to lie before us; an irrigation policy that will utilise to the maximum, whether

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remuneratively or unremuneratively, all the available water resources of India, not merely in canals—I almost think we have reached the end there,—but in tanks and reservoirs and wells; a police policy that will raise the standard of the only emblem of authority that the majority of the people see, and will free them from petty diurnal tyranny and oppression. It is impossible to satisfy all classes in India or anywhere else. There are some people who clamour for boons which it is impossible to give. But the administrator looks rather to the silent and inarticulate masses, and if he can raise, even by a little, the level of material comfort and well-being in their lives, he has earned his reward.

I am glad that our finances in India have placed us in a position to give the people the first reduction of taxation that they have enjoyed for twenty years. We have endeavoured to render the land revenue more equable in its incidence, to lift the load of usury from the shoulders of the peasant, and to check that reckless alienation of the soil which in many parts of the country was fast converting him from a free proprietor to a bond slave. We have done our best to encourage industries which little by little will relieve the congested field of agriculture, develop the indigenous resources of India, and make that country more and more self-providing in the future. I would not indulge in any boast, but I dare to think that as the result of these efforts I can point to an India that is more prosperous, more contented, and more hopeful. Wealth is increasing in India. There is no test you can apply which does not demonstrate it. Trade is growing. Evidences of progress and prosperity are multiplying on every side. Six years ago, just before I left England, a committee of experts was sitting in London to provide us in India with that which is the first condition of economic advance —that is, a sound currency policy. I thank Sir Henry Fowler, the chairman of that committee, and the authorities co-operating with him, for the great service

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that they rendered to India. Profiting by their labours, we have introduced there a gold standard and established fixity of exchange, and we seem to have put an end to the fitful and demoralising vagaries of the silver rupee.

But I think I can point to more satisfactory symptoms still. I believe there to be a steady and growing advance in the loyalty of the Indian people. When the late Queen Victoria died there was an outburst of sorrow throughout India almost equal to anything that you could see here in England. A little later, when the present King succeeded and we celebrated his Coronation at Delhi, there was a similar display of national feeling, not at Delhi alone, but in every village and hamlet throughout that vast continent. I know it has been the fashion in some quarters to deride that great ceremony at Delhi as a vain and unprofitable display. My Lord Mayor, if we spent about as much, and I do not think we spent more, in crowning the Emperor of 300,000,000 as you spent here in crowning the King of 42,000,000, I do not consider that we need reproach ourselves very much for our extravagance. But we did much more than that. Already the people of India knew and revered the Prince of Wales, because they had seen him. We brought home to them at Delhi that that Prince was now their ruler, and that in his rule were their security and salvation. We touched their hearts with the idea of a common sentiment and a common aim. Depend upon it, you will never rule the East except through the heart, and the moment imagination has gone out of your Asiatic policy your Empire will dwindle and decay.

There is another respect in which India has been advancing by leaps and bounds, and on which I should like to say a brief word. In the point to which I am about to refer I doubt if modern India would be recognised by those who knew it a generation ago. The British public knows that between one-fourth and one-fifth of the population there is under the rule of native

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Princes and Chiefs, though subject, of course, in all essentials to the British Power. There are many hundreds of these chiefs all included, but the most important of them number less than one hundred. In this country you know all about their ancient lineage, their costumes and courts, their liberality and loyalty to the Crown. But it has been too much the fashion here to regard them as so many picturesque excrescences from the dull uniformity of Indian life, to look upon them as survivals of an obsolete era, without any practical utility, and sometimes sunk in selfishness and lethargy. My Lords, that is not my idea of the Indian Princes. I have always been a devoted believer in the continued existence of the Native States in India and an ardent well-wisher of the native Princes. But I believe in them not as relics, but as rulers; not as puppets, but as living factors in the administration. I want them to share the responsibilities as well as the glories of British rule. Therefore it is that I have ventured to preach to them the gospel of duty, of common service in the interests of the Empire, of a high and strenuous aim. But you cannot expect them to attain these standards unless you give them an adequate education; and accordingly, in consultation with them, we have revised the entire curriculum of the Chiefs' Colleges in India, which have been set up for their instruction. And if you thus train and educate them you must give them an object and a career. It is for this reason that, by permission of His Majesty the King, I founded the institution known as the Imperial Cadet Corps, where we give military education to the pick of the Indian aristocracy, and which will eventuate as time goes on in the bestowal for the first time of commissions as British officers upon Indian chiefs, nobles, and gentlemen. This is a policy of trust, but I am confident that it will be repaid, for already the Princes of India are giving to our efforts the reply that might be expected of their nobility of character and their high traditions. They are coming forward in

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response to our appeals. They welcome and do not resent these changes, and we are gradually, nay, I think we are quickly, creating there the spectacle of a throne supported by feudatories who not only render military service—they do that without stint,—but who also vie with it in administrative energy and devotion to the welfare of their people.

My Lords and gentlemen, I ought not to conclude these remarks without saying a word about another and a wider aspect of our policy—the problem of Frontier Defence. It is not necessary for me to sing the praises of the Indian Army. The Indian Army has written its name on the map, not only of India, but of the British Empire. It is writing it in the windy passes of Tibet at this moment. Army reform is very much in the air, and I can assure you that in India we are not free from the contagion. We are doing our best there in respect of equipment, organisation, and armament, in readiness to mobilise, and in facilities of communication, to carry out the lessons of the most recent science and the most recent experience. And since, as we have been told, you have banished our modern Hercules to the Himalayas, we are not letting him rest, but are utilising him in the execution of labours every whit as important as any on which he might be engaged here.

We have had a period of almost unbroken peace for six years on that stormy frontier of India which looks towards the North-West and Afghanistan. And I think the reason is this—that, abandoning old and stale controversies, we have hit upon a policy in India that is both forward and backward—forward in so far as we hold up to our treaty frontier, neither minimising nor shirking our obligations; backward in so far as we do not court a policy of expansion or adventure, but depend rather on a policy of co-operation and conciliation than one of coercion or subjugation of the tribes. I do not prophesy about the future. No man who has read a page of Indian history will ever prophesy

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about the frontier. We shall doubtless have trouble there again. Turbulence and fanaticism ferment in the blood of those races. But we have given you peace for a longer period than you have enjoyed at any time during the last thirty years, and I believe that slowly and surely we are building up the fabric of local security and contentment on the border.

But I am not sure that some student of public affairs will not interpolate at this moment the question—What, then, are you doing in Tibet, and how do you reconcile this with the policy of peace and conciliation that you have described? My Lord Mayor, the instruments of Government often cannot speak their own minds, and my lips are tied by obligations which you will be the first to recognise. At the same time, as the recent head of the Government of India, I may perhaps say this. Though we shrink in India from expeditions, and though we abominate a policy of adventure, we had not the slightest hesitation or doubt in recommending the policy that we did to His Majesty's Government. We felt that we could not afford any longer, with due regard to our interests and prestige on that section of the frontier, to acquiesce in a policy of unprovoked insults, endured with almost unexampled patience, at the hands of the Tibetan Government ever since they, and not we—please remember this, ever since they, and not we,—assumed the aggressive, and first invaded British territory eighteen years ago. And still less could we acquiesce in this treatment at the very time when the young and perverse ruler of Tibet, who it seems to me has shown himself to be the evil genius of his people, while refusing to hold any communication with us, or even to receive letters from the representative of the British Sovereign, was conducting communications with another great Power, situated not at his doors, but at a great distance away, and was courting its protection. I was sent to India, amongst other objects, to guard the frontier of India, and I have done it. I was not sent there to let a hostile danger and

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menace grow up just beyond our gates, and I have done my best to prevent it. There are people so full of knowledge at home that they assure us that all these fears were illusory, and that we could with dignity and prudence have gone on turning our other cheek to the Tibetan smiter. These fears were not illusory. The danger was imminent and real. Perhaps the Frontier States may be taken to know something about it, and if we have, as we have never had before, the frontier States of Nepal and Sikkim and Bhutan, the majority of them allied by religious and racial affinities to Tibet, all supporting our action and deploring the folly and obstinacy of the Tibetan Government, there must be strong *prima facie* ground that we are not entirely mistaken in our views. No one regrets more than myself the fighting with innocent people or the slaughter of ill-armed but courageous men. I should have liked to carry the matter through without firing a shot, and we did our best to do so. Months were spent in the sincere but futile effort to avoid a conflict. But only the meanest knowledge of the frontier is required to know that it is not vacillation that produces respect, and that the longer you hesitate and palter the severer is the reckoning you have to pay. I hope that as a result of these operations we shall be able to introduce some measure of enlightenment into that miserable and monk-ridden country, and without adding to our own responsibilities, which the Government of India are without the least wish to extend, that we shall be able to ward off a source of political unrest and intrigue on this section of our border, and gradually to build up, as I believe it to be in our power to do, harmonious relations between the harmless people of Tibet and ourselves.

My Lords and gentlemen, these have been the main incidents of the policy of the Government in India during the last six years. There is only one other feature of the situation to which I wish to allude, if you will bear with me, because it is in one sense the most important of all. I have been speaking to-day about the acts and symptoms

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of British rule in India. What is its basis? It is not military force, it is not civil authority, it is not prestige, though all these are part of it. If our rule is to last in India it must rest on a more solid basis. It must depend on the eternal moralities of righteousness and justice. This, I can assure you, is no mere phrase of the conventicle. The matter is too serious on the lips of a Governor-General of India for cant. Unless we can persuade the millions of India that we will give to them absolute justice as between man and man, equality before the law, freedom from tyranny and injustice and oppression, then our Empire will not touch their hearts and will fade away. No one is more ready to admit than I that if you put side by side the rulers of a European race and the ruled of an Asiatic, and particularly such races as the Indian and the English, where you have a small minority face to face with a vast alien conglomeration, you cannot expect to have complete coalescence. On the one side you have pride of race, the duty of self-protection, the consciousness of power; on the other you have struggling sentiments and stifled aspirations. But, my Lord Mayor, a bridge must be built between the two, and on that bridge justice must stand with unerring scales. Harshness, oppression, ill-usage, all these in India are offences, not only against the higher law, but against the honour and reputation of the ruling race. I am as strong a believer as any man in the prestige of my countrymen. But that prestige does not require artificial supports; it rests upon conduct, and conduct alone. My precept in this respect does not differ from my practice. During the time that I have been in India the Government have taken a strong stand for the fair treatment of our Indian fellow-subjects, who are equal with us in the eyes of God and the law. I rejoice to say that the conduct of Englishmen in general in India towards the Indians is exemplary, even in trying and provocative circumstances; but where exceptions occur I think that the sentiment of the majority should be as quick to condemn them as is their conduct, and that the

Government, which is above race or party, and against whom any injustice is a reproach and a slur, should receive the unhesitating support of the entire community. That is the policy which the Government has pursued in my time, and by my conduct, my Lord Mayor and gentlemen, I am willing to be judged.

I will now bring these remarks to a close. It is seventeen years since I first visited India; it is thirteen years since I first had the honour of being connected with its administration. India was the first love, and throughout all that time it has been the main love, of my political life. I have given to it some of my best years. Perhaps I may be privileged to give to it yet more. But no man could do this unless he saw before India a larger vision or were himself inspired with a fuller hope. If our Empire were to end to-morrow, I do not think that we need be ashamed of its epitaph. It would have done its duty to India, and justified its mission to mankind. But it is not going to end. It is not a moribund organism. It is still in its youth, and has in it the vitality of an unexhausted purpose. I am not with the pessimists in this matter. I am not one of those who think that we have built a mere fragile plank between the East and West which the roaring tides of Asia will presently sweep away. I do not think that our work is over or that it is drawing to an end. On the contrary, as the years roll by, the call seems to me more clear, the duty more imperative, the work more majestic, the goal more sublime. I believe that we have it in our power to weld the people of India to a unity greater than any they have hitherto dreamed of, and to give them blessings beyond any that they now enjoy. Let no man admit the craven fear that those who have won India cannot hold it, or that we have only made India to our own or to its unmaking. That is not the true reading of history. That is not my forecast of the future. To me the message is carved in granite, it is hewn out of the rock of doom — that our work is righteous and that it shall endure.

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I thank you, my Lords and gentlemen, for the encouragement that has been given by the citizens of London through me to all those who are engaged in this great and noble undertaking. I shall go forth again refreshed and reinvigorated by your sympathy.

LUNCHEON AT MANSION HOUSE

Following the ceremony at the Guildhall on July 20, 1904, the Lord Mayor entertained a distinguished company at the Mansion House at luncheon, to meet Lord Curzon "on his admission to the Freedom of the City of London." In reply to the toast of his health, Lord Curzon spoke as follows:—

I have already detained a large audience, some of whom I believe are also present here, at no inconsiderable length in the Guildhall, and I am afraid that I should ill requite your hospitality if I were again to trespass at any length upon the indulgence of your guests. I have yet to find the audience in England that would stand two long speeches on India in the course of the same summer afternoon. I expect that they would call aloud for an allopathic treatment. I remember reading a story of Lord Macaulay when he was first appointed a member of the Board of Control in England; while he was still studying the question of India he wrote a letter to his sister in which he said, "Am I not in fair training to become as great a bore as if I had been in India myself—that is, as great a bore as the greatest?" With this warning ringing in my ears, I fear that I must not show any great eagerness to respond to the lead which you have given me in the graceful and complimentary remarks to which I have just listened. Your speech was in itself a high compliment to me. It contained a statement of further compliment, about which, until the moment that you announced it, I was not

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myself certain—namely, that I am at this moment the youngest Freeman of the City of London. It was accompanied by yet another compliment in the shape of the letter which you read from the head of His Majesty's Government. I was sent out to India by one Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury; when I left England my health was proposed at a valedictory banquet by another Prime Minister, Lord Rosebery; and now to-day you have read out the language of compliment of a third, Mr. Balfour. Lord Salisbury had a peculiar acquaintance with India, for not only was he twice Secretary of State for that great dependency, but his despatches and minutes about the Government of India are among the very best models of official literature in the English language. Lord Rosebery is, I believe, the only English Prime Minister who has been out to India since the days of the Duke of Wellington, and I should like to commend his example to the many embryonic Premiers who are possibly seated at this table. Mr. Balfour has never yet done us that honour, but I should like also to suggest to him a visit to that great dependency as a preferable alternative to some of the experiences which will possibly lie before him in the ensuing years. However that may be, Mr. Balfour has devoted to the military and political problems arising out of our Indian Empire an amount of attention unequalled by any of his predecessors, and likely, in my opinion, to be fraught with inestimable advantage to the interests of the Empire as a whole.

My Lord Mayor, I detect only one omission in your remarks, and it has reminded me of a still greater omission in the speech that I made in the Guildhall this morning. When any assemblage of Englishmen meets together to extol the manner in which India is governed, do not let them forget the men by whom it is governed. This is the more necessary, because, owing to the conditions of their work, the majority of them are unknown at home. The Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, and a few high officials more or less fill the public eye and

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earn praise for the work which is done by others. Sometimes, it is true, they are criticised for acts on the part of their subordinates of which they have never even heard. But there can be no question that the balance is largely on the other side, and that many an official name has been written in characters that have lasted on cairns that others have raised. And who, if I may pursue the subject for a moment, are these men of whom I speak? They are drawn from every part of this country and from every rank of society. They are typical of the best of the British race and of British life. Some of them are the pick of your Universities. Others carry to India names that have already been borne in that country by generations before them. Accident, no doubt, takes some into the Civil Service, hereditary associations take others, but I believe that it is the Englishman's passion for responsibility, his zest for action on a large field, that is the ruling motive with most. And I think that they are right; for in India initiative is hourly born; there great deeds are constantly being done, there is room for fruition, there is a horizon for results. I do not mean to say that it is not so at home, but to one coming back from a long service abroad those considerations are less patent to the eye. In the Guildhall this morning I saw men who had administered provinces with a population double that of the United Kingdom, with a population half again as great as that (India excluded) of the whole British Empire. I have myself served with colleagues in India who would have been entitled to a place in any Imperial Cabinet, and who would have risen to high place in any Government in the world. It is true that the names of these men are not on the lips of their countrymen—their faces are unknown,—but allow me to say for them, on this rare occasion when I have the opportunity of speaking, that they are the real Empire-builders, for in the sweat of their brow they have laid the foundations of which you in England only see the fair and glittering superstructure as it rears its head into the sky.

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I sometimes think that in the catalogue of our national virtues we hardly lay sufficient stress upon the enormous administrative ability of the English race—I speak of ability as distinguished from the moral ingredients of character and courage, which are the more obvious elements of success. And yet, in all parts of the Empire, and more especially in India, we have an amount of administrative ability which could not be purchased for millions of pounds sterling, and which is the envy of every other empire-possessing nation in the world. I hope that in what I have just said I have not given the impression that I think the service of such men is unrecognised at home. I do not believe there is any deliberate lack of interest or want of pride in their work. It arises rather from the Englishman's familiar indifference to the great things that he is doing on the face of the earth, and his fussy and parochial agitation about the small.

If I may keep you a moment longer, there is one other aspect of the work of the Civil Service in India to which I should like to refer. I spoke this morning about the magnitude of the undertaking; let me add a word about the industry that it entails. I sometimes hear people at home speak about the members of the Indian Civil Service as though they were persons who had little else to do in India but perspire. At least, that is their idea about the men who live and work in the plains; and as for those happy ones, including myself, who go up to Simla or the hill stations, we are regarded as the lucky denizens of places where a mild frivolity alternates with an almost Olympian repose. That is not my experience of any seat of government in India, whatever its altitude. There is a story told of two eminent Frenchmen—I believe they were M. Littré, the great lexicographer, and M. Dumas, the novelist. They are said at one time to have occupied the same residence, and to have kept such different hours of work that when one of them was going upstairs in the early morning, after completing the labours of the night, he used to meet the

other coming downstairs to commence the work of day. I do not say that we have reached that standard in India —*consule Planco*,—but there are many among the admirable officers by whom I have been served who would not find it so very startling.

While I am speaking of the Services in India, let me add one word about the men in the plains. I do not think any one ought to make a speech about India without remembering the men in the plains. All through the heat of the summer, when the earth is like iron and the skies are like brass, when during the greater part of the day every chink and crevice must be closed to keep out the ravening air, these men and their wives with them—for Englishwomen in India are just as capable of devotion and heroism as are their husbands—remain at their posts devoted and uncomplaining. They sometimes remind me rather of the men who are engaged in the engine-room of a man-of-war: there they are stoking the furnaces while the great ship is being manœuvred and the big guns are thundering overhead. Sometimes they go down with the vessel without ever having seen the battle or the fighting; but if their commander wins the victory, up they come, begrimed with smoke, to take their share in the rejoicing. My Lord Mayor and gentlemen, these are the real organisers of victory; and never let any of us think of the service of his son, or brother, or relative in India, without turning a thought to the men and women in the plains. Such is the character and such is the work of the men with whom it has been my privilege to co-operate during the last five and a half busy years. We have been living in strenuous times in India. I have heard it whispered that they have been too strenuous for some, but if this be so, it is not from the members of the Civil Service that I should ever have learned the fact. Though the work of reconstruction and reform which I was speaking about in the Guildhall this morning is one which must have imposed a heavy strain on their energies, I have never from any one of them, young or

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old, high or low, heard one murmur of protest or complaint. You will pardon me if I refer to this fact on the present occasion, and if I say that, in accepting the compliment you have offered to me, I think much more of them. It is on their behalf, even more than on my own, that I gratefully acknowledge the gracious words that you have spoken, and thank you for the manner in which you have proposed my health.[1]

PRESENTATION OF FREEDOM OF BOROUGH OF DERBY

On July 28, 1904, the Freedom of the Borough of Derby was presented to Lord Curzon, in the Drill Hall at Derby, before an audience drawn from all parts of Derbyshire, his native county. After signing the roll Lord Curzon spoke as follows:—

[The earlier part of the speech, which was mainly of local interest, is omitted.]

Party has nothing whatever to do with India, and ought never to have anything to do with it. India stands outside of party. We know nothing there of the party labels of Liberal and Conservative, or Unionist and Radical. During the time that I have been serving in India I have almost forgotten to what party I originally belonged in this country, and I have received—and am grateful for the fact—the support of both political parties at home. I should like myself to go further. I should like to place a ring-fence round the whole British Empire, with a notice-board, on which should be written, "Any party man will be prosecuted who trespasses

[1] With this speech may be compared Lord Curzon's farewell to the Indian Services, at the United Service Club dinner, at Simla, on September 30, 1905. *Vide* vol. ii. p. 294.

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here." For to me the Empire is so sacred and so noble a thing that I cannot understand people quarrelling about it, or even holding opposite opinions about it. But I know as a matter of fact that they do, and that what to one man appears to be a splendid and beneficent conception strikes another, some others, at any rate, as a vulgar and even contemptible form of greed. Therefore I am afraid that I must remain an idealist in respect of the Empire. But as regards India let there be no dispute and no doubt that party and India ought never to have anything to do with each other, and must never be brought into the same connection.

There was a time in the past when the Government of India was made the sport of political parties in this country. Indeed, there have been two periods in British history when this was pre-eminently the case. The first was at the end of the eighteenth century, when the government of India, or the misgovernment of India, whichever it was, was undoubtedly treated as a move in the political game. That great and ill-used man, Warren Hastings, one of the most eminent although the most suffering public servants that we have ever known, was prosecuted, not for what he had done or what he had not done in India—for most of the charges against him were false,—but in order to do injury to the political party that had appointed and supported him at home. Then later on, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Manchester school of politicians — that school of high aspirations and futile performance—took up the question of India, and once again nearly converted it into a party cry. Fortunately the danger of both these periods has passed away, and I hope that it is now impossible to revive them. The reasons for which it would be so pernicious to introduce anything like party into the government of India are very obvious, and must be known to all of you. In the first place, remember this: the lines of cleavage in India are entirely different from what they are here. Here they are mainly political between the two parties, both of

whom I am glad to see represented in this hall. In India they are racial, religious, and social. In so far as they are political at all, they represent the inevitable line of cleavage between the rulers and the ruled, and that is a gap which in India we are always doing our best to bridge over and to fill up. You may imagine, therefore, what a mistake it would be to add another to the numerous causes of fissure that already exist in that country, and particularly one so mischievous in its character and so deleterious in its results. The second reason is this: if there is one thing that India wants for its gradual recuperation, and that the Government of India more than anything else desire in their effort to carry it out, it is continuity of administration. Nothing can be more fatal than that violent oscillations of policy should either occur, or should be expected to occur, when one party goes out and another party comes in in this country. It has been one of the main sources of the weakness and even of the failure of our frontier policy in India, that the two parties in this country have held different views about it, and that one party was supposed to be always wishing to push forward, whilst the other was credited with a desire to hang back. More than one of my predecessors in the Governor-Generalship of India have been recalled or have retired for this reason, when their party was defeated at the polls in England, and this fatal system has been the cause of more blunders and bloodshed on the Indian frontier than any other cause that I can for the moment think of. But the third reason is, I think, the most important of all. In the tremendous task that confronts us in India we want all Englishmen to be united. We cannot afford to have any divisions amongst ourselves. If I may take an illustration from another sphere, we have many of us seen how terribly handicapped the Christian Church is in its struggles with pagan religions by its own subdivisions into so many sects and denominations and creeds. Do not let us repeat that mistake in the sphere of Imperial state-

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craft. Let every man who works for India in India, or who thinks about India in England, do it not as a party man, but as a national man. Let India be regarded as so sacred a thing that it ought never to be fought about on British hustings, and never introduced as a plank into a party programme in this country.

I was wondering a day or two ago upon what particular aspect of Indian government I should say a few words to this audience this afternoon, when I found in my library a volume of the collected speeches of John Bright. He, as you know, took a great interest in India, and his speeches upon that subject which were contained in this volume were delivered between forty and fifty years ago, just after the great Mutiny had swept like a tornado across the face of India, and when the ideas of men were in a state of fluidity as to what the future was going to bring forth or what form the Government of India ought to assume. These speeches of Mr. Bright were characterised by great and unaffected sympathy for the Indian peoples, by those lofty principles which seem to me to have invariably inspired his public action, and by that beauty and simplicity of language which remind one, in the ordered flow of his argument and the rhythmical cadence of his words, of the plash of waves upon the sea-shore. But these speeches almost without exception were striking illustrations of the proposition that I have just been discussing, for they were all of them dominated by the narrow and, as it seems to me, mistaken tenets of a particular political school.

To me it has always seemed a remarkable thing that the three most powerful intellects in the sphere of British politics that have ever seriously devoted themselves to the study of Indian problems should all have been so wrong in their verdicts, and, as it seems to me, all for the same reason. I speak of Burke, Macaulay, and Bright. The eloquence of Burke poured like a stream of lava across the whole field of Indian administration; but it very often scorched and disfigured quite as much

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as it illumined what it touched, and his presentation of the Indian incidents of his day, whatever it be as rhetoric or as literature—and in my view it is magnificent as both,—was most certainly not history. Then fifty years later we come to Macaulay. Just now I mentioned to you the name of Warren Hastings, and I said with truth that Warren Hastings was a man greatly to be pitied, and perhaps chiefly to be pitied for this: during his lifetime he was exposed to the passionate and unjust invective of Burke, and when he died and all this calumny ought to have been hushed in the grave, his reputation was, so to speak, exhumed again, and subjected to the unfair and partisan censure of Macaulay. Lord Macaulay rendered great service to India, particularly in the domain of law and education. He did what men of genius almost invariably do: he made everything round him palpitate and glow with the reflex of his own intellectual force. But his Essays, which I suppose are the foundation of all that nine out of ten of us in this hall know about India, contained quite as much fiction as fact, and are often most vexatiously inaccurate and misleading. Finally, we come to the time of John Bright. His views about India, which I shall briefly mention to you in illustration of the position that I take up, were, in some respects, the most erroneous of all. I do not allude to the picture that Mr. Bright drew of the Government of India in his day, though I believe it to have been grossly exaggerated. He described the Civil Service of India as arrogant and tyrannous, the military service as clamorous and insatiable for expenditure, the people as crushed and down-trodden, education as trampled upon, crime as rampant, trade as stifled, communications as non-existent. I believe that that was not a true picture in his time, and it is certainly not a true picture now. He said that the Government of India was not a Government for watching over the people or conferring blessings upon them. I believe that that remark was not wholly true then; I believe it to be wholly untrue now. But I

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think that his forecasts were even more erroneous than his opinions. He held that the post of Governor-General was one so high and so great that it ought not to be filled by any subject of the Crown, and he laid down that the indispensable preliminary to the good government of India was the abolition of that post. I should not be addressing you here this afternoon if that advice had been followed, although it is not on personal so much as on public grounds that I greatly rejoice that it was never done. He went on to say that the only way by which good government could be secured in India was to split up that country into a number of separate presidencies or provinces, each with a separate and almost independent Government, and with a separate army of its own. I greatly rejoice that that advice was never carried out. I believe it would have been almost disastrous in its results. In 1858 he said, "The immense Empire that has been conquered by you in India is too vast for management; its base is in decay." When he spoke those words the population of India was 150 millions; it is now 295 millions. When he spoke, the revenues of India were 30 millions; they are now nearly 80 millions. And yet the Empire of India is no nearer dissolution than it was in his time; on the contrary, I think it is a great deal further from it; and so far from its foundations being based in decay, I believe that every year that passes it is striking its roots deeper and deeper into the soil.

Then I come—and I have only one more quotation—to the famous passage in which he said, "Does any man with the smallest glimmering of common sense believe that so great a country, with its twenty different nations, and its twenty languages, can ever be bound up and consolidated into one compact and enduring Empire? I believe such a thing [he said] to be utterly impossible; we must fail in the attempt if ever we make it." Well, we have added a good many nations and a good many languages to that Empire since then, and I am here to-day to say that in my opinion, and, I believe, in the

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opinion of most of those who know anything about India and who have worked with me during the past five years, that which Mr. Bright regarded as an utter impossibility is neither a chimera nor a dream. Let me at once concede the extreme difficulty of the task. I do not say that we have attained our goal. Perhaps we are not even in sight of it. It is impossible to produce absolute unity among 300 millions of people. In the speech which I made the other day at the Guildhall I said something about our rule in India covering the whole space between barbarism at one end and civilisation at the other. Let me tell you a little story which, in a parable, will indicate that which otherwise might take a great many words. I remember hearing of an English sportsman in India who examined the arrows in the quiver of a native *shikari* belonging to one of the aboriginal tribes. He found the first arrow tipped with a stone—a relic of the neolithic age; the next arrow was tipped with electric telegraph wire—a theft from the twentieth century. That story is typical of the whole of India. It conveys to you the amazing synthesis of anthropology, of history, of human experience, which is gathered within the boundaries of that great area. You may imagine that with a people so diversified, representing such opposite poles of creed and civilisation, complete unity is a thing which we cannot aspire to produce. India must always remain a constellation rather than a single star, must always be a continent rather than a country, a congeries of races rather than a single nation. But we are creating ties of unity among those widely diversified peoples, we are consolidating those vast and outspread territories, and, what is more important, we are going forward instead of backward. It is not a stationary, a retrograde, a down-trodden, or an impoverished India that I have been governing for the past five and a half years. Poverty there is in abundance. I defy any one to show me a great and populous country, or a great and populous city, where it does not exist. Misery

and destitution there are. The question is not whether they exist, but whether they are growing more or growing less. In India, where you deal with so vast a canvas, I daresay the lights and shades of human experience are more vivid and more dramatic than elsewhere. But if you compare the India of to-day with the India of any previous period of history—the India of Alexander, of Asoka, of Akbar, or of Aurungzeb—you will find greater peace and tranquillity, more widely diffused comfort and contentment, superior justice and humanity, and higher standards of material well-being, than that great dependency has ever previously attained.

I am sometimes lost in amazement at those critics who fail to see these things, who protest to us that our rule in India is ruining the country and crushing the people; and I am still more amazed when I reflect that that class of critic is, as a rule, to be found among a small set of my own countrymen. It seems to me so perverse—I had almost said so wicked. The cant of self-praise is a disagreeable thing, but the cant of self-depreciation seems to me to be even more nauseating. Of the two types of Pharisee, the man who takes pride in his virtues is often a less offensive spectacle than the man who revels in imaginary sins. If it were strangers or foreigners or outsiders who held these views, and announced to us that our rule in India was a failure and a crime, we perhaps should not be so much surprised; we might attribute it to jealousy, or ignorance, or suspicion. But the very reverse is the case; and sometimes while I am reading the almost ferocious diatribes of a small number of my own countrymen about the alleged iniquity of our rule in India, I am simultaneously receiving letters from thinkers and men of action in other countries asking me to tell them what is the secret of our wonderful and unparalleled success. Year after year a stream of intelligent foreigners comes to India from France, from Germany, from America, from distant Japan, to study our methods and to copy

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our institutions. Book after book records the results of their inquiries and the admiration which they feel at the results. I take heart when I feel that I can appeal to this enlightened international jury in justification of the work that the rulers of India are doing. And whenever you meet any of the critics of the class whom I am describing I commend to you this particular form of confutation.

I am not so bold as to say that we make no mistakes in India. I daresay we make a great many. I am quite willing to claim a most liberal share for myself. Our rule is sometimes inflexible and harsh and unyielding, or, if it is not so, it appears to be so to the people. It is so difficult to understand them; it is so much more difficult sometimes to get them to understand us. The points of view of the governor and the governed, and still more of the Asiatic and the European, are so wide apart that one hardly knows where to find a hyphen to connect them. It is impossible to explain everything that we are doing in India, or to meet and to check every form of misapprehension and attack. Let me give you an illustration. It is widely believed in many parts of India that the Government has purposely introduced the plague into that country in order to decimate the population, and thereby to render our task of government more easy. Well, you will say to me, "A most extraordinary thing! But, of course, that can only apply to the very ignorant." Quite true. But the very ignorant are the enormous majority, the overwhelming majority, of the entire population. Even among the educated and intelligent classes the most astonishing misconceptions prevail. For instance, if I take any particular branch of the administration and endeavour to reform it with the object of producing a higher state of efficiency and that alone, I find myself at once exposed to the charge that I am creating a number of unnecessary and lucrative billets to be filled by my countrymen from England. As if an administrator cares one snap what is the nationality of the man

whom he wants for a post! What he wants is the best man for the post, and the work to be best done. If he can get a native so much the better. The service of the native is cheaper; they know the language, the traditions, the customs of the country; they are inured to its climate. We take them where we can; but if we cannot find a native with the requisite scientific knowledge or the expert training, then we have to come to this country to get the man, even if we have to pay rather more for him. Well, the whole thing seems to me—would seem to any of us—so obvious as scarcely to require explanation. Yet I can assure you that it is one of the most fertile causes of misrepresentation and attack from one end of India to the other.

In this state of public feeling we have to be very patient in India, and to be indifferent to the various forms of misrepresentation and abuse. For my own part I think the highest duty that a ruler of India can set before himself is to create, if I may so describe them, special interpreters between the people and ourselves, to explain our ideas to them and theirs to us. It is with this object that while I have been there I have done my best on all occasions to take the public into my confidence, and to explain to them what I have done or what I meditate doing. The one thing in governing an Asiatic country is to break down the barriers between the hearts and consciences of men; and the man who can bring together the hearts of the peoples or races who are on either side of the barrier, and make them beat more closely together by a single pulsation, is a greater public benefactor than the conqueror of kingdoms. I have only one more thing to say. When I hear eulogies passed, as I did three-quarters of an hour ago, upon the administration in which I have taken a part during the past five years, I am sometimes afraid lest people should think that it differs very much from that which has preceded it, or from that which will follow. No one man is necessary in any post in the world. I have come to the con-

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clusion that no one man is very important. One who may be younger and tougher may carry on his work longer and more energetically before he breaks down. One man may enjoy good fortune and opportunities that are denied to another. But that is about all the difference. The machine in India is so vast that it is independent of the individual, or, rather, it is composed of the concentrated energies and abilities of so many individuals that to single one out for praise is merely to follow the recognised practice of rewarding troops in the person of the commander. I should not have been standing here to receive the Freedom of the borough of Derby to-day if great and distinguished Viceroys and Governors-General, with whom I do not venture to compare myself, had not preceded me and built the foundations upon which I have only laid another course. And when I have passed away and am forgotten, other and abler men will come after me, who will produce better results, and earn a more deserved applause. My sole ambition has been, during the time allowed to me, to add something to the solidity of that marvellous fabric of British rule in India, to repair, if possible, some of its weak places, and to leave it more enduring. No greater reward do I desire, or can I receive, than that the people of my native country, and perhaps even more the inhabitants of my native county and native town, should recognise that my intentions have been sincere, and that I have not laboured altogether in vain.

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ADDRESS FROM BOMBAY MUNICIPALITY ON RESUMPTION OF OFFICE

Lord Curzon landed at Bombay on December 9, 1904, after an absence from India of seven months, to assume for the second time the Viceroyalty of India. In reply to an address from the Municipal Corporation he spoke as follows:—

I thank you, Sir, and the members of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay, for the address which you have just read, the third with which this body, so worthily representative of this great and renowned city, has honoured me during the past six years.

Landing on this quay again this morning, I cannot but recall the occasion when I stood here almost exactly six years ago. There is one great difference which must be apparent to all, but which is most apparent to me. I land alone to resume this great burden, without the sympathy and the solace at my side that have been my mainstay during these hard and often weary years. But that fact, so sad and so serious to me, reminds me of the comfort that has come to me from India in such rich measure during the past few months of anxiety and suffering, and which you, Sir, have echoed in your address this morning. I desire to thank all classes—the Princes of India, several of whom have journeyed to meet me here to-day and with whom I have just shaken hands, public bodies and societies, the officers of the Services, and Indian sympathisers of all classes who have written to me in such numbers—for their tender interest and solicitude. There is warmth of heart in India as great and as life-giving as there is of sky; and neither Lady Curzon nor I can readily forget the wealth of it that has been given to us in our hour of trial. I endeavoured to answer as many of these messages as I could with my own hand or through that of others. But if anywhere I failed, I beg the kindly correspondent

whom I have unwittingly ignored to accept this acknowledgment.

The question may, perhaps, be asked why in these circumstances I should have come back at all. It is true that I have already exceeded the longest term of office since that which sent Lord Canning home, more than forty years ago, to die. Only once before in a hundred and thirty years has a Governor-General for a second time taken up this office;[1] and in the fate which awaited him there was to be found little encouragement for a successor. May I give the answer in all humility as it rises in my own heart? Since this country first laid its spell upon me, I have always regarded it as the land not only of romance but of obligation. India to me is "Duty" written in five letters instead of in four. All the servants of Government, European or native, are also the servants of duty. The Viceroy himself is the slave of duty as well as its captain. We have all to do our work irrespective of minor considerations.

I do not know, Sir, for how long I may continue to hold this office, for the past six years have left their mark upon my own health, and I must for some time be very dependent upon what I hear from home. But within the space permitted to me, be it short or long, there are a few things which I should like to carry some stages further towards completion, because I believe, rightly or wrongly, that they will contribute to the strength of the Empire and the welfare of this country. We still have to carry through the reform of the police, the most vital and imperative of domestic reforms, touching the very core of the life of the Indian people. There has been no undue delay, and we are only awaiting the final orders of the Secretary of State in the matter. We have to translate into fact, so far as our resources permit, the findings of the Irrigation Commission. We have to start the new Department of Commerce and Industry, which will take special charge of those interests that must play so large a part in the

[1] Earl Cornwallis, Governor-General 1786-1793, and again in 1805.

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future prosperity of India. We have to inaugurate our new Railway Board, and to speed our educational reforms on their way. There are several administrative reforms, already initiated, still to be carried through to conclusion. We have to rivet tighter the bonds of steel that constitute our land defences, so that none may rashly force an entrance, and threaten the security or dissipate the slowly garnered prosperity of the people. We are in train to do this by the great scheme of military reorganisation to which the present Commander-in-Chief in India is devoting his unique experience and authority, by a policy of friendly alliance and understanding with our neighbours on all our frontiers from Lhasa to Kabul, and by a better co-ordination of our military resources within our borders, both those which are under the Imperial Government and those which are supplied by our loyal coadjutors the Native States. If, when the time comes for me to go, I can feel that these plans are either realised, or are sure of their ultimate issue, I shall contentedly depart, and shall leave what I hope will be quieter days and less laborious nights to my successor.

During the time that I have been in England I have found many signs among my own countrymen of a warm and steadily growing interest in India. There is not, I believe, a single thoughtful Briton who looks at the connection between the two countries from a selfish or sordid or purely materialistic point of view. There are few, if any, among them who do not realise the responsibility and desire that it should be discharged faithfully. I pray you, I pray the native community in India, to believe in the good faith, in the high honour, and in the upright purpose of my countrymen. In England there are no two parties about India. It is the desire of all parties that the government of this dependency should be conducted with insight and sympathy, and that our guiding stars should be mercy and justice. Some perhaps would advance more quickly, others more slowly, but all would advance, as we are advancing. Is it an impossible aspiration to ask that in India there should

be no two parties about England? Disagreement there may well be as to methods and details; but in principles and essentials let us be one.

[The remainder of the speech, which related to local subjects, is omitted.]

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ADMINISTRATIVE & FINANCIAL PROGRESS

FIRST BUDGET SPEECH (LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AT CALCUTTA)

March 27, 1899

IT is a source of no slight pleasure to me, that the first Financial Statement to which I should have listened in this Council has been one of so gratifying a description. My belief, more than once expressed on previous occasions, in the economic vitality of this country, in the solidity and range of its resources, and its capacity for an industrial expansion far beyond what has hitherto been deemed possible, is confirmed by the experience of the past year. I recognise that the circumstances have been exceptionally favourable. War has fortunately ceased upon the frontier. There has been a high and an almost uniform rate of exchange. There has been a notable expansion in certain industries. The harvests have been abundant. On the other hand, there have been corresponding sources of depression and alarm in the recurrence of plague, which neither the resources of science nor the utmost administrative vigilance have so far succeeded in defeating, and which has made heavy inroads upon the Imperial as well as upon the Provincial Exchequers. That the net result of these contending influences should yet be a balance of $4\frac{3}{4}$ crores is indicative to my mind not merely of uncommon powers

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of recuperation, but of a marvellous latent reserve of strength.

We have been criticised in these circumstances for not having proposed a remission of taxation; and that criticism has found capable expression in more than one quarter at this table to-day. I quite understand, and I do not in any degree deprecate, such criticism. It is the natural and legitimate desire of tax-payers all over the world to obtain relief from what they regard, or at least represent, as their burdens, and to feel the passion for relief swelling in their bosoms in proportion to the apparent existence of the means for satisfying it. I doubt not that the payers of income-tax would have welcomed an extension of the scale of exemption. I may add also that it is equally the desire of Governments not merely to earn the popularity that may result from a remission of taxation,—although my experience is that popularity so won is a very ephemeral asset,—but also in the interests of good government itself to reduce the burdens upon the people. But there are considerations in this case, both normal and exceptional, which decided us to take the opposite course.

The normal consideration of which I speak was that of ordinary caution. Though I have spoken of the astonishing recovery of the past year, though I believe it to represent a much more than transient improvement in the resources of the country, and though Sir J. Westland[1] budgets for a surplus of nearly 4 crores in the coming year, I am yet too conscious of the part played by what I may describe as the swing of the pendulum in the economic world to be willing to sacrifice any portion of a hardly won advantage by being in too great a hurry. The Hon. Sir G. Evans has reminded us that India is a land of surprises, and these surprises are liable to start into existence equally in the spheres of politics and finance. Even in the more sober atmosphere of England we have had during the past year a startling instance of this phenomenon;

[1] Finance Member of the Governor-General's Council, 1893-1899.

for whereas, in the plenitude of our wealth and substance, the Government of which I was a member a year ago agreed to a remission of taxation by which we forfeited in the case of one duty alone[1] a sum of nearly 1½ millions sterling without, so far as I remember, exciting any gratitude from anybody, within the space of a year the balance has so completely swung round, owing to unexpected calls, that, if what I read in the papers be correct, there will be no cause for surprise should the forthcoming budget contain proposals for the recovery of considerably more than was then remitted. To reduce taxation in one year and to reimpose it in the next is a condition to which Governments have frequently been driven by unforeseen events. But it is one which it is better to avoid by an excess of prudence at the time than to meet with whatever ingenuity at a later period.

The special circumstances which, more even than these general considerations, decided us against any remission of taxation in the forthcoming year are known to all. It is not unlikely that we may be invited before long to inaugurate momentous changes in the financial system of the Indian Empire. What these changes may be none of us as yet know, and we reserve our entire liberty to examine and consider them when they are submitted to us by Her Majesty's Government as the result of the expert inquiry now proceeding in London. But it must be obvious to the least informed that the prospects of any such change as we may decide to undertake must depend very largely upon the position and the credit that we enjoy at the time in the eyes of the world; that they will be enhanced by the evidences of financial strength to which a large balance and expanding resources are the best testimony; and that they might be correspondingly imperilled by any stringency or insecurity here. We may be called upon to take steps that will affect the entire future of Indian trade and finance. We cannot afford, therefore, to

[1] The tobacco duty, taken off in 1898, reimposed in 1899.

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slacken our hold upon any implement that may conduce to their success.

There is another respect in which we may be thought to have carried caution to excessive lengths. The hon. member has framed his estimates for next year upon the basis of a 15¾d. rupee. This has been variously explained as typical of the prudence of one whom I may perhaps without offence describe as "an old financial hand," or as prompted by a chivalrous desire to present a larger surplus than is apparent on the surface to his successor. I understand that both interpretations have been repudiated by the hon. member to-day. May I, however, add—and I do not think that I shall err on the opposite side of optimism in so doing—that this under-estimation, for so I think it may be called, must not be taken to indicate the least want of confidence on the part of the Indian Government. For my part I have every belief that the rupee will retain throughout the ensuing year the same position that it has done during the past; and I may even go further, and say that I shall be disappointed if we are not able to invest the 16d. rupee with a greater durability than any which it has hitherto attained.

[Here followed some paragraphs of local interest, which have been omitted.]

I am entirely in agreement with some of the remarks that fell from the Hon. Mr. Arthur with respect to the present high rate of Telegraphic charges. I regard that rate as inimical to trade, as being a barrier to the ever-growing intercourse between India and the mother country, and as being obsolete and anomalous in itself. I have already considered the question, and I may say that I have placed it in a category of twelve important questions, all of them waiting to be taken up, all of them questions which ought to have been taken up long ago, and to which, as soon as I have the time, I propose to address myself. What these questions are I do not propose to relieve the curiosity of hon. members by now

informing them.[1] But another question has been raised by an hon. member sitting at this table which I am unable to add to the dozen. I am unable to add to it the suggestion of the Hon. Mr. Chitnavis that I should acquiesce in the reduction of the British soldiers in India. I can assure him that no such proposal will form part of the programme of the Government of India during my time.

As regards Railways, Sir J. Westland has indicated in his Budget Statement that for the moment our motto is *festina lente*, although this must not be taken to mark any policy of revulsion from that which has lately been pursued. There are times, however, at which it is desirable to go a little slower than the maximum pace. I am, however, rather in sympathy with what fell from the Maharaja of Darbhanga concerning the encouragement of light gauge feeder railways; and since I came here I have authorised the construction of some hundreds of miles of such lines. I should say in this context that one of the subjects to which I propose to turn my attention while at Simla is the whole question of the policy of Government in respect of railways in India, and our attitude towards private enterprise in particular. I am not satisfied with a condition of affairs which lays the Indian Government open to the charge—whether it be true or false I have not as yet the knowledge that enables me to pronounce—of indifference to the offers of assistance that are made to it, and of hostility to the investment of British capital in the country. We may hope much from fixity of exchange if we can succeed in establishing it. I should be glad if the Government could at the same time by its own attitude encourage what I hope may before long be a pronounced inclination towards India of the financial currents in the mercantile world.

[Here followed a paragraph upon Irrigation, which has been reproduced under that head.]

[1] *Vide* p. 83 for the list.

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SECOND BUDGET SPEECH (LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AT CALCUTTA)

March 28, 1900

In closing this last debate of the present session of Council, I am constrained to admit that it has not been a session very prolific in legislation. It has not, for that reason, been, in my opinion, any the worse. On the contrary, I think that we opened the session with too full a wallet. Our session is, owing to the conditions of our life at Calcutta, necessarily limited in duration. All the stages of legislation, after the preliminary inquiries and introduction of the various Bills, have practically to be got through in the space of three months. In the case of small or uncontentious measures this is enough, and more than enough. In the case of an important measure which has been long debated, and has probably only reached the stage of legislation after years of previous discussion, it may also be sufficient. But I doubt if it is sufficient in cases where several important measures may be simultaneously on the agenda paper, and where, in the course of the examination of the Bills themselves, acute difference of opinion may be developed, or alterations may be made in a Bill in Select Committee or elsewhere that radically affect its original character. In such cases I would sooner be charged with undue caution than with extravagant haste. We are free in India from the particular temptation that impels Governments to legislate at all hazards in the British Parliament, namely, the desire either to fulfil the promises sometimes rashly given upon platforms at a previous election, or to establish a better record than their political opponents for the purposes of the ensuing one. Being free from these temptations, and having no standard of action beyond our own sense of responsibility and of the public needs, I think that it

behoves us to legislate sparingly, to look very closely to the quality, and not too much to the quantity, of our output, and, while very jealously guarding the duty of Government, which is to lead public opinion, and in no way to abrogate the supreme authority vested in us, at the same time not to push our measures through with undue precipitation,—above all, not to give to any party or interest the idea that its views have been imperfectly considered or contemptuously brushed aside.

For these reasons we have, during the present session, postponed the Assam Labour Bill, upon which we did not receive, until too late a date, all the replies that we had asked for; and the Coal Mines Bill, in which amendments so substantial were introduced in Select Committee, that we felt it desirable again to consult the local Governments before proceeding further with the Bill.[1] It was on similar grounds that I announced the withdrawal of the Press Messages Bill ten days ago. Now there may be some people who may make this series of postponements a source of reproach, and may interpret them as a sign of weak or distracted counsels. I do not think that, at any rate in the present case, there would be the slightest justification for such a reproach. Speaking for the rest of my colleagues as well as myself, I can truthfully say that we have acted only after careful deliberation and in the public interest, and I believe that our decision has been ratified by public opinion, and has been acceptable to the majority of hon. members who sit upon this Council. For my own part, I say unhesitatingly that, in proportion as our legislative machinery in India is prompt and powerful in its action, and is free from many of the clogs that impede legislation in England, so should it only be employed with much forethought and deliberation. That does not mean for a moment that Government must never pass unpopular Bills. All legislation is unpopular with somebody; and I have seen enough of Parliamentary life to have heard the most salutary measures denounced as iniquitous at the time

[1] Both these Bills were passed into law in 1901.

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of their introduction, and to have seen statesmen and Governments savagely abused for the passing of Acts which were afterwards extolled as their principal title to fame. I daresay, therefore, that this Council in my time will pass some Bills that will be stoutly resisted and roundly assailed. All I hope is that we shall not be guilty of the particular vice of legislation in a hurry.

Passing from these general considerations to the discussion in which we are at present engaged, it will, I am sure, be the opinion of all who heard the Hon. Mr. Dawkins[1] last Wednesday, that he placed before us a clear and even luminous statement, dealing with a large variety of subjects and a great mass of figures, with the easy confidence that betrays the hand of the master and wins the confidence of the pupil. I am sure that we all of us regret that we shall not listen to many more such statements from his lips, and that the Government of India will not profit in future years by Mr. Dawkins' wide experience and expert counsel. He is, unfortunately, leaving us after a too brief period of Indian service. During that time he has had to contend with circumstances representing a transitional phase in our financial history; and he has further seen all prospect of a notable Budget, of a large surplus, of great schemes, of a sensible relief of taxation—in fact, all the legitimate aspirations of a financier—stolen from him by the sad famine against which we are now struggling. One by one, therefore, his Spanish castles have been dissolved in thin air, and he has been compelled to present a curtailed programme and a stern business statement, in which, if there is nothing startling or sensational, it is yet a matter of sincere congratulation, not merely that equilibrium is maintained, but that a slight surplus is even estimated for the forthcoming year. Nevertheless, in his year of office Mr. Dawkins has not failed to leave his

[1] Finance Member of the Governor-General's Council, 1899-1900, afterwards Sir Clinton Dawkins, K.C.B., who unhappily died in December 1905.

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mark, and it will be found to be a durable mark, upon our financial history and system. He has successfully inaugurated the new era under which the sovereign has become legal tender in India, and stability in exchange has assumed what we hope may be a stereotyped form.

This great change has been introduced in defiance of the vaticinations of all the prophets of evil, and more especially of the particular prophecy that we could not get gold to come to India, that we could not keep it in our hands if we got it here, but that it would slip so quickly through our fingers that we should even have to borrow to maintain the necessary supply. As a matter of fact, we are almost in the position of the mythological king, who prayed that all he touched might be turned into gold, and was then rather painfully surprised when he found that his food had been converted into the same somewhat indigestible material. So much gold, indeed, have we got that we are now giving gold for rupees as well as rupees for gold, *i.e.* we are really in the enjoyment of complete convertibility—a state of affairs which would have been derided as impossible by the experts a year ago. Mr. Dawkins has further introduced several useful reforms in the method of stating our accounts. That delusive column that appeared to represent Loss by Exchange has vanished. The dreadful and bewildering symbol of Rx. has been politely bowed out of existence. I remember last year, when still a newcomer from England, and before I had become accustomed to the multiplicity of Indian financial symbols, being considerably puzzled at the occurrence in the same statement of no less than five different methods of computation, viz. Rupees, Tens of Rupees, Pounds Sterling, Lakhs, and Crores. Now, I have never myself understood why finance, because it is complex, need also be made obscure. But Mr. Dawkins is one of the few financiers whom I have found willing to subscribe to that elementary proposition. A useful step has also been taken by him, by which the only public works that will in future be charged against the Annual Famine Grant,

or, as it is sometimes called, Famine Insurance Fund, of 1½ crores, will be works that are designed and executed exclusively as a protection against famine. This does not mean that such works can be brought up to the full margin of the grant, for protective public works are necessarily limited in number. What it does mean is that the allocation of the grant for such famine protective purposes as are available will be more easily traceable, the unappropriated balance being devoted as now to avoidance of debt. Perhaps in this respect we may be able to carry correct definition even further in the future. During his term of office Mr. Dawkins has further adopted a liberal policy in his attitude towards banking and other enterprise in this country; and if he has not been here long enough to carry to a final conclusion the important question of banking amalgamation or reform, he has appreciably expedited the solution of the problem, and has facilitated the labours of his successor by the free and fearless discussion which he has inaugurated, both in private conference and in public despatch, upon this momentous issue. Finally, in the reply to which we have just listened, Mr. Dawkins has shown an ability to meet the criticisms which have been passed upon his Budget in the course of this debate which renders it a cause of additional regret that this is the last occasion on which we shall listen to a similar performance from him.

[Here followed a number of paragraphs about Famine, Irrigation, and Military Administration, which have been reproduced under those headings.]

THIRD BUDGET SPEECH (LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AT CALCUTTA)

March 27, 1901

We have arrived at the close of what I venture to claim as a practical and business-like session. A year

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ago, in my Budget speech, I had to confess and to explain the withdrawal or the postponement of our most important legislative measures. In the present year we have a better record; for not merely have we placed upon the Statute-book a number of subsidiary measures, to one of which, providing a much-desired relief in respect of inheritance and of succession duties to native Christians, I attach no small weight, but we have also carried into law two Bills of the highest importance, the Assam Labour Bill and the Mines Bill, both of which raised issues of a very controversial character, and were keenly watched by public opinion. I ventured to prophesy last year that we should profit rather than lose by postponement; and I have little doubt that, whereas we have in both cases secured general assent, and in one case absolute unanimity, in the final stages of these measures, we should not have been so fortunate had we persisted in pushing them forward at that time. I feel, therefore, that we may all compliment ourselves upon good work done; and although my test of the success of a legislative session in India certainly would not be the amount of the legislative out-turn, I yet feel that, even judged by this standard, we have not done amiss. It is hardly necessary for me to reiterate the opinion to which I have given expression on a previous occasion, and which, I am sure, will meet with the enthusiastic acceptance of the Hon. Mr. Buckingham,[1] that I am not anxious to strain too heavily the productive capacity of our legislative machine during the remainder of the time that I am in India.

If our session has been one of a workmanlike character, we may also claim that it has terminated in a very business-like Budget and in a discussion of solid interest. Sir E. Law[2] has hardly met with the conditions which a financier of repute would voluntarily choose for the inauguration of an Indian term of office. He has had to

[1] Afterwards Sir J. Buckingham, representative of the Assam tea-planting interest on the Legislative Council.

[2] Finance Member of the Governor-General's Council, 1900-1905.

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fight a famine of exceptional severity, and to watch a financial situation that has always been delicate, and sometimes anxious. Nevertheless, at the end of a year of strain he has been able to convert the almost nominal surplus that was estimated for by his predecessor into a sum of nearly $1\frac{3}{4}$ millions sterling. He can congratulate the country and himself that the currency policy, which was inaugurated just before he joined us, has gained in strength and stability at his hands, so much so that all those gloomy ravens who sat about and croaked of disaster at about the time when the London Committee issued its report, seem to have vanished from the scene; and after making the most ample provision for a generous famine expenditure in the Bombay Presidency, which, unfortunately, is not yet free from serious drought, for increased military expenditure, and for a much larger outlay upon railways and upon irrigation, in the forthcoming year, he is yet able to predict a substantial surplus at its close, which, if only we can count upon a recurrence of normal conditions, I shall hope to see largely increased.

I do not wish to strain these achievements, or the figures upon which they rest, beyond their legitimate scope. I am well aware that we have had a number of windfalls during the past year which no one could foresee, and upon which we most certainly cannot reckon in the future. But, nevertheless, making due allowance for them, I still claim that the situation is one that is hopeful, both as regards the economic and the financial position of India. I shall revert to the first of these subjects later on. But as regards the latter, while I should always be cautious in dogmatising either about the durability of any financial situation or the vitality of any fiscal system, I yet think that, if we examine our main sources of revenue and note their steady increase, we may feel some confidence that, barring a recurrence of disasters which are beyond our foresight or control, India is already beginning to tread upon a brighter and happier pathway.

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[Here followed a passage about Military Administration, which is printed under that heading.]

In my first Budget speech two years ago I alluded to twelve important reforms to which I hoped to address myself while in India. I was sufficiently cautious at the time not to indicate their nature, and I remember that there was some playful conjecture as to what they might be. Inasmuch as before we meet again at this table more than half of the normal term of office of a Governor-General will have elapsed, and as I shall be terminating my third and entering upon my fourth year of administration, I may perhaps take advantage of the present occasion to indicate in more precise language how far the Government of India has travelled up to the present date along the road which we then set before ourselves.[1] I hope I may not be misunderstood. Neither my colleagues nor I desire to claim for ourselves any premature credit for measures as yet only recently introduced, and to which the test of experience has yet to be applied. We also know enough of India not to be sanguine or to prophesy. Just as two years ago I never anticipated that we were standing on the brink of an appalling famine, the second within three years, so now there may be vicissitudes or risks ahead of us of which we know nothing, and which may upset all our calculations. All I desire to do upon the present occasion is to take the public into our confidence as to the measures which we have placed before ourselves, and to indicate to it that we have not so far been idle.

[The ensuing paragraphs dealt with the first and second in importance among the twelve objects, viz. the creation of a sound Frontier Policy and the constitution of an efficient

[1] From this and subsequent references it appears that the first twelve subjects were the following: Frontier Policy and Province, Reform of Leave Rules, Secretariat Reform, Currency Reform, Railway Reform and Creation of Railway Board, Irrigation Reform, Relief of Agricultural Indebtedness, Reduction of Telegraphic Rates, Preservation of Ancient Monuments, Universities Bill and Educational Reform in general, Police Reform, Policy towards Native States and Chiefs.

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Frontier Administration. They are reproduced under these headings.]

Third in order of importance I place the steps that we have taken, with the consent of the Secretary of State, to remedy what I hold to have been one of the greatest abuses that have grown up in recent years in this country, and the most subtle and insidious danger to Indian Administration. I allude to the frequency of official transfers, arising partly out of our Leave Rules, partly from local systems of official promotion, partly from a preference of the convenience of the individual to the exigencies of the public service. It is hopeless to expect good administration without continuity, intelligent administration without local knowledge, popular administration without personal interest. If these considerations apply to government in any country, much more are they true of a country like India, where large masses of people are being ruled by a small minority of alien extraction. The abilities, the training, and the enthusiasm of the latter are all discounted or thrown away if the officers are shifted hither and thither before they know the district, or have mastered the local dialect, or have acquired the confidence of the inhabitants. It is as though the captain of a cricket eleven were to place his field indiscriminately, and to shift a man from post to post before he had learned the work of one. This great danger in India, as to which I never fail to make inquiries wherever I go on tour, and which in some parts of the country has attained to extravagant dimensions, has attracted our earnest study; and the reform in the Leave Rules which we have instituted, and which, without detracting from the privileges of the Service, will prevent the frequent removal of officers upon leave at short and insufficient intervals, with a consequent chain of transfers and far-reaching dislocation, will, we hope, tend very greatly to mitigate the evil. At the same time we are taking up independently the case of particular Presidencies or

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Provinces where a bad system seems to call for special treatment, and we have issued general rules, applicable to all, as to the conditions under which district posts should in future be held. Any administrator who in his time can feel that he has done something to draw closer together the ties between rulers and ruled in this country, and to produce that sympathy that can only result from mutual knowledge, may go away with a consciousness of not having altogether failed.

A corollary of this abuse is the divorce that has been brought about between an officer and his work, or at any rate the most important part of his work, by the interminable writing that has grown up in the administration of this country, and that threatens to extinguish all personality, or initiative, or despatch, under mountains of manuscript and print. The real tyranny that is to be feared in India is not the tyranny of executive authority, but that of the pen. I do not say that the system is without its good features. It could not have grown up, it could not have reached its present dimensions in India, had it not had substantial justification. In a country so large, where the life of officials, even the most sedentary, is so fleeting, where customs and traditions and practice vary so greatly, and where such importance rightly attaches to precedent, it is essential that there should be preserved the written records not merely of administrations, but of departments. In this way only can an officer upon arrival in a new district find out what has been going on there before him; and in this way only are the perpetually changing officers in the various Secretariats able to deal with cases, of which, without the written records, they would be in entire ignorance. These are the good and necessary sides of the system. But there is a consensus of opinion among those who are qualified to speak that the engine has become so powerful as to have got the better of its driver, and that those who should be the masters of the system have become its slaves. In the departments of Government I found when I came here inordinate

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writing, unjustifiable repetition, unbusiness-like procedure, and much easily avoidable delay. I do not think that any individual or series of individuals could be blamed for this. It had grown up, so to speak, by stealth; and every one was a half-unconscious victim. Three things were necessary. The first step was to make a careful study of the system in the various departments, and to ascertain when and how and why it had grown. I found that it was almost entirely the product of the last twenty-five years, and that it synchronised with the great development of communications, and more especially of the telegraph—in other words, that it was the product of modern centralisation. The next step was to compare our system with those of the best offices in the Government at home, and to see what lessons could be derived from them. The third step was, by consultation with all those officers who are responsible for working it, to ascertain where the pruning-knife could most effectively be applied. In this way was drawn up an entirely new set of Rules of Business for the Secretariat of the Government of India, providing for greater simplification of procedure, less penwork, more frequent verbal consultation, superior despatch. These rules were sent round to all the local Governments, and with suitable modifications have been largely adopted by them. They have now been in operation for a year and a half in the departments of the Government of India. I watch over them, as my hon. colleagues and the Secretaries and Under-Secretaries know, with all the interested vigilance of a parent, and I have received and desire to acknowledge the most loyal co-operation at their hands. More recently, after prolonged examination, we have attacked that more mischievous development of the same abuse which arises out of the multiplicity and length of Reports, and we are striking at its very roots. It is no exaggeration to say that the system of Report-writing that prevails in India is at once the most perfect and the most pernicious in the world,—the most perfect in its

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orderly marshalling of facts and figures, and in the vast range of its operation; the most pernicious in the remorseless consumption of time, not to mention print and paper, that it involves, and in its stifling repression of independence of thought or judgment. The Government have made public their views in a Resolution recently published in the Gazette, and we are now addressing all the local Governments. It is of no use to deal with the matter in pious generalisations, or with academic counsels of perfection. Resolutions or appeals of that sort are gratefully acknowledged, and as speedily forgotten. We have made a detailed examination of every Report that comes in from any quarter to the Government of India, and have collated them over a period of years. In this way we have been able to strike a mean, both as to contents, and character, and length. A great many have been found to be useless, and have been abolished altogether. With regard to the remainder, we have issued definite orders in each case, prescribing the manner of compilation and the limits of length. We have invited the local Governments to do the same with the Reports that go up to them but do not come on to us. We are thus thinning the forest, not by a general order to reduce the amount of superfluous timber that it contains, but by ringing every tree in it that ought either to be lopped or to be cut down, and by sending in the woodmen with axes to perform the task. But, I may be asked, what is going to come out of all this? Will not this reformatory zeal soon die down, and be replaced by the normal apathy? Who is going to secure continuity either of energy or plan? I observe that this was the tone of a recent gathering in England that met to discuss this question. A large number of Indian officers of authority and experience attended, and they were all good enough to say that our reforms were excellent, but a good many added that they would be ephemeral. Indeed, one gentleman said that no permanent reform would ever originate in India. Let us wait and see. I at any

rate do not mean to be put off by these counsels of despondency and despair. As I said in the Government Resolution, there is no reason why a good practice should not endure just as well as a bad practice, if once it be given a fair start; and I think I have a right to appeal for the co-operation of every officer of Government, from a Governor to a Deputy Collector, to see that that start is given. It is true that Viceroys are fleeting phantoms, whose personality is transient, and whose term is soon over. But this is a work in which is involved not the prestige or the whim of an individual, but the entire credit of British rule in India; and it is even more to the interest of every local administration that it should continue than it can be to mine.

Fifthly, comes the great change in our Currency system, to which I have already adverted, and which is now in the second year of successful and tranquil operation. It is, I think, a considerable thing to have escaped for so long from all the inconveniences and troubles arising from an unstable and fluctuating exchange. It was fatal to accuracy of financial forecasting, and it was in the highest degree prejudicial to trade. We are now all settling down to a 16d. rupee as if it had existed since the beginning of time, and we make our calculations upon a basis of reasonable certainty. Even the prospects of a redundant circulation of rupees, by which some are frightened, are rendered innocuous by the Gold Reserve Fund which we have established upon the advice of Sir E. Law, and which is to hold in reserve the gold with which to meet any sudden plethora in the silver coinage. It really seems as though India were entering upon a period of reasonable stability as regards currency; and this new and happy era, which was inaugurated by Mr. Dawkins, may, I hope, be converted into a settled tradition by his successor.

One of the objects with which I have always welcomed the introduction of the gold standard, placing India as it does in closer contact, and upon even terms, with the money market of Great Britain, has been the hope that

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it might accelerate the flow of capital to this country in industrial and other undertakings. This will not come all with a rush; but I think that I see signs that the movement is spreading. And this brings me to the sixth subject, upon which I have bestowed close attention, and to which I have been anxious to communicate a positive impetus. I allude to Railways, and I speak not merely of railway construction, but of railway policy and of railway finance. I remember, before I came out to India, saying that I hoped that 25,000 miles would be completed in my time. I erred on the side of caution. Though we have had to deal with a curtailed programme in consequence mainly of famine, this total has already been reached and passed. When I made my first Budget speech the total length of open lines was 22,500. It is now 25,155. In the last two years our railway account has, for the first time in the history of Indian railways, exhibited a net surplus—a result which must be very gratifying to my hon. colleague Sir A. Trevor, who has administered the Public Works Department with so much acumen for five years; and we are proposing in the forthcoming year to spend over 10¼ crores upon railways, as compared with 8¼ crores during the past year of famine, and 9 crores in the preceding year.[1]

But here I am confronted by a point to which I must make a passing allusion. I observe that a question has been raised as to whether the increase in railways is not an injury rather than a gain to India, and whether by carrying away the food supplies of the country in times of plenty, they do not leave the raiyat impoverished and exhausted when famine comes. It has been suggested, in consequence, that if we do not stop our railways, which are supposed to swell our exports, we ought to restrict the latter. Inasmuch as these arguments appear to me to involve a fallacy of the first order, and to rest upon presumptions for which there is no foundation, I may perhaps halt for a moment in order to expose them. The first of these presumptions is that our export of

[1] Compare this with Lord Curzon's final statement just before he left India, p. 310.

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food-grains is largely upon the increase, and that this increase has been in the main caused by railways. There is no ground for this hypothesis. The total export of food-grains from India between 1880 and 1890 was 22,687,000 tons; between 1890 and 1900, 23,257,000 tons, or an average annual increase during the second decade of only 57,000 tons over the first. Had the exports increased in proportion to the extension of railways, the volume of trade in the second decade would have been half as much again as that in the first. In the last year the grain export has been far below the average of any previous year. The second presumption is that a large proportion of the total grain produce of India is exported. This again is not the case. Out of a total estimated production of 73,000,000 tons, little more than 3 per cent is exported, and if rice be excluded, less than 2 per cent, the bulk of the export being wheat, which is not the food of the people in time of famine. If then we place a check upon exports in order to provide the population with more grain when famine comes, all that we shall do will be to ruin Burma, which lives upon its great export of rice to India, notably in times of famine, and to deprive the wheat grower of the Punjab of the market which railways have created for him.

As a matter of fact, what was the old system which railways are alleged to have destroyed and which we are now invited in some quarters to re-establish? It was the plan of grain storage in ordinary years against the years of drought. This was a possible and a desirable system in the days of no communications. Each district had then to be self-sufficing, because it was land-locked. With the spread of railways such a policy has become a costly and a useless anachronism. The storage system itself was attended by the gravest drawbacks, which have now apparently been forgotten. Rice is a grain which will not easily admit of being preserved. Even the drier grains are apt to moulder under such conditions, and when the grain-pits of the Deccan were opened in 1897, a great deal of bad grain was thrust

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upon the market and caused wide-spread disease. Again, it seems to be forgotten that the grain-pit usually has a private owner, and that the price at which he will consent to open and sell is not determined by the needs of the public, but by the interests of his own pocket. Under the storage system the most startling fluctuations of prices occurred even in adjoining districts. Grain was at famine prices in one place, while it was lying rotting upon the ground in another. Every one knows the story of the Madras beach in 1876. Take the case again of Raipur in the Central Provinces under this system. In 1861 wheat was selling at 84 seers for the rupee, in 1863 at 32, in 1868 at 20, in 1869 at 15, in 1876 at 53¾, in 1878 at 19½.

If anybody tells me that this is a condition of affairs good for the cultivator, or the consumer, or for trade, or for the Government of India, I must take leave to doubt his sanity. Now, as against this, what have railways done? They have equalised the prices all round. They have given to the landlocked districts access to external markets in times of plenty, and they have brought the produce of those markets to their doors in times of need, It must be remembered that the whole of India is, fortunately, never afflicted at the same time by famine. There are always flourishing parts to feed the parts that are famishing. In the old days the inhabitants of the latter consumed the grain in their pits, and then laid down and died. Now imported grain keeps alive the whole population. I gave just now the experience of Raipur under the old conditions. Let me tell hon. members what it has been under the new. I will quote the words of the Chief Commissioner, Mr. Fraser,[1] with reference to the recent famine. "It is impossible," he writes, "to overestimate the benefits which railway extension has conferred upon the province. If Chattisgarh, for instance, had not been opened up by railways, it is horrifying to think of what might have occurred. The recent extensions of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway poured in supplies of the cheap scalded rice of Orissa, which

[1] Afterwards Sir A. Fraser, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

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penetrated far into the interior. In 1897 this source of supply was wanting, and the more expensive rice from Burma was the chief food-stuff brought in. In the famine of 1897, when exports were carried away in the early months, the Chattisgarh people pointed to the railways as an exaggeration of their ills. In this famine they have regarded them as their salvation. Within one year the railways have brought into the province grain enough to feed three millions of people for a year." Now this is a very instructive quotation; for it shows how in 1897, when the Chattisgarh people held fairly large stocks, they resented the depletion of these by the railway, and a rise in prices later on. On the other hand, in 1899 there was in over two-thirds of Chattisgarh no crop at all. Where, I wonder, in such a case would the grain pits have been? On this occasion, had it not been for the railway, the entire population would have perished like flies. Storage may for a time supply a restricted area. It never has saved, and never will save, a district or a province.

There remains the third fallacy, as I regard it, that railways have raised prices to a prohibitive level. I can discover no ground for this allegation. The export trade in food-grains cannot have produced any such result, because I have shown it to be infinitesimal. Railways themselves cannot raise prices; their tendency is to equalise them. Prices may rise from an increase of demand over supply—that is, by the increase in the number of those to be fed or in the standard of living. But railways are not accountable for this consequence. It has been due in India to a number of economic causes to which I need not now refer, and, before we set it down as a hardship, we should have to inquire whether there had not been a corresponding increase in the purchasing power of the population.

I therefore shall certainly not be deterred by any of these economic heresies from a steadfast policy of railway construction in my time. I regard railways as a blessing to this country as a whole, and as the most

unifying agency that exists in India. Indeed I would like to go farther, and to free railway policy and finance from many of the shackles by which it is now hampered. Almost ever since I came here I have been examining this question, and we have been trying, by discussion amongst ourselves and with the Secretary of State, whether we cannot do what the Hon. Mr. Ashton has urged us to do, namely, find some means of separating railway finance from general finance, or for putting productive railways which pay more than the interest charges on their capital into a category apart from precarious or unremunerative concerns. It is easy enough to make out a good case on paper, but it is difficult to construct a workable scheme in practice. In the long run the money for railways has been raised by loan, whether in England or in India, and the greater part of it has to be spent in India in rupees. The one is a question of borrowing, the other of ways and means for expenditure. Both questions fall at once within the range of the financial operations of Government. Sir E. Law, however, is not less interested than myself in this question, and we hope to carry it to a successful issue. I have no time on the present occasion to speak of the steps which I have taken by the institution of a Travelling Railway Commission, which has already done valuable work, and by the publication of an annual summary of all the railway proposals before us and of the attitude of Government towards them, to take the public into our confidence, and to conduct railway development in this country on commercial rather than departmental lines. I hope to carry these efforts even farther by means which I have in view; but already I claim that we have made not inconsiderable progress.

Side by side with railways in India we always consider the subject of Irrigation; and this is the seventh branch of administrative policy in which I have been most desirous to initiate a positive advance.

[Here followed a paragraph about Irrigation, which has been extracted and inserted under that head.]

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Eighth among the problems that I hinted at two years ago was the vexed question of the increasing Indebtedness of the agricultural population, and the extent to which the land is passing out of their hands into those of the money-lending class. We have already dealt with the question in the Punjab by the Land Alienation Bill which was passed last autumn. That Bill was an act of innovation, but it was also an act of courage. It was to me a matter of surprise that so many organs of native opinion should have combined to attack a measure which was exclusively based on considerations of public interest, and to which, whether it succeeds or fails, it was impossible to attribute a selfish motive. The same problem meets us elsewhere in ever-increasing volume and seriousness, and each case will require to be considered upon its own merits.

Two years ago, in reply to the Hon. Sir Allan Arthur,[1] I promised to take up the question of a reduction in the present high rate of Telegraphic charges between India and Europe, which I described as inimical to trade and intercourse, and as obsolete and anomalous in itself. He has reverted to the subject in tones of anguish this afternoon. I had hoped long before now to be able to announce the successful termination of the negotiations which we undertook in prompt redemption of my pledge. My view was that no reform would be worth having that did not provide for a reduction of at least 50 per cent in the present charges. Our negotiations were so far successful that we did persuade the companies to agree to an immediate reduction to 2s. 6d. a word, with a prospective reduction to 2s. a word as soon as the increase of traffic justified it; and in order to secure this end we undertook to give a very liberal guarantee from Indian funds. So far all went well. But since then the matter has been hung up, owing to clauses in the Telegraphic Conventions which require the assent to any change of rate of certain foreign powers through whose territories the wires are laid. This situation is engaging

[1] *Vide* p. 74.

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the earnest attention of His Majesty's Government. It is to my mind an intolerable position that telegraphic communication between England and India, and the rates at which it is conducted, should be at the mercy of other parties, and I think that some way out of the difficulty will have to be found that will make Great Britain the mistress of her own principal lines of connection. I shall hope to see the reduction of which I have spoken realised in my time. But I may add an expression of my private opinion that the matter will not be satisfactorily or finally settled, and that there will not be the maximum development of traffic between the two countries until the rate has been reduced to 1s. per word. That change will not come yet awhile, and we shall probably only reach it by gradual stages. But it will assuredly one day come, and I commend it to the reformers of the future.

I may mention among other matters that have engaged our attention, and in which we have made material progress during the past two years, the preservation of Archæological remains in this country. I have often emphasised what I conceive to be the duty of Government in this respect, and everywhere that I have been throughout India on tour I have made a most careful inspection of the famous or beautiful buildings of the past, and have given orders as to their repair or preservation. We have addressed the Secretary of State as to a more liberal provision for this object in the future, and as to the appointment of a Director-General of Archæology, and we hope before long to introduce a Bill that will provide for the safe keeping of historic monuments, and will prevent the removal of antiquarian treasures and relics from our shores.

There is one subject upon which I have never hitherto spoken one word in India, because it is one of much delicacy, but to which I desire to-day to devote a few passing remarks. I speak of the relations between British soldiers and the natives of this country. The friends of the soldiers are greatly in error if they believe that there

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is the least wish to place harsh restrictions upon them or to deprive them of reasonable openings for sport and recreation. On the contrary, it is desired to give them such openings in the fullest manner compatible with the discipline and routine of military life, and as a well-earned relief therefrom. On the other hand, it is impossible for those who are entrusted with the Government to view with equanimity any risk to these relations arising from carelessness, or ignorance, or lack of restraint. That such risk has in many cases arisen it is impossible to deny. I make no attempt to apportion the blame. Sometimes there may have been rashness resulting in collision on one side. I have heard of conspiracy culminating in attack upon the other. What we, as a Government, have to do is to minimise the opportunities for such friction, and to induce mutual self-respect. For such a purpose strict rules are required, and strict attention to the rules when formulated.

Now upon this point I wish to be especially clear. The civil and the military authorities have been and are absolutely united in the matter. The responsibility is shared between them. It cannot be shifted from the shoulders of one party to those of the other. The head of the civil administration could not in a matter of discipline act in independence of the military authorities. They, on the other hand, make a point of co-operating with the civil power. There is no single rule now in operation as regards the reporting or trial or treatment of cases or otherwise which has not emanated from the military authorities in the first place. There is no measure, proceeding, or step which has not been taken upon their authority and with their full consent. When the Shooting Rules were revised last autumn, the task was entrusted to a Committee upon which the military and civil elements were equally represented, and, further, one of the civilians was an old military officer. Their report, and the rules as revised by them, were accepted without demur by the Government of India.[1] I make

[1] The Shooting Rules are a body of Regulations drawn up by the

these remarks, because it cannot be too widely known that there has existed throughout this unity of action, and because I have seen or heard of the most erroneous allegations to the contrary effect. I remember a case in which a local Government reported to us what it called a gross miscarriage of justice in a trial for the murder of a punkah coolie. The civil authority does not exist to rectify the errors that may be committed in a court of law, and there was unfortunately nothing to be done. Some time later the Commander-in-Chief, having satisfied himself that the acquitted party had so conducted himself as to be unfit to wear Her Majesty's uniform, decided to dismiss him from the Army. This proposal was submitted to, and of course received the sanction of, the Government of India, who would not interfere in a disciplinary matter with the supreme military authority. Forthwith arose an ignorant outcry that the civil power had usurped the functions of a final court of judicial revision. I merely mention this case as typical of the misunderstandings that are apt to prevail in these matters. I will only say for the Government, that our attitude has been in every case one of the most scrupulous impartiality. Our one desire is to draw closer the bonds of friendly feeling that should unite the two races whom Providence has placed side by side in this country; and I venture to assert that no higher motive could inspire any body of men who are charged with the terribly responsible task of Indian administration.

There remain a number of subjects, high up in the list of the original dozen, upon which we are still busily engaged, but as to which we have not found time as yet to carry our views to fruition. First among these I

Government of India, specifying the conditions under which British soldiers may go out with guns or rifles in pursuit of game. It was found that the majority of the collisions between soldiers and natives, and the sometimes very serious accidents resulting therefrom, arose from ignorance or neglect of the Rules by the soldiers, from their imperfect nature, or from failure to enforce them on the part of the authorities. Hence the appointment of the Committee here referred to. The utmost care is now taken to acquaint the soldier with the conditions under which shooting is permitted, and to ensure that due precautions are taken for the protection of native life and crops.

would name Educational Reform, the placing of Education in India, in its various branches, University, higher, secondary, technical, and elementary, upon a definite and scientific footing, and the clear determination of the relations between private enterprise and the State. This great object has been for a long time occupying my attention, and I hope that we may be able to deal with it in the forthcoming summer or autumn.

Another matter that is one of anxious preoccupation to us is the reform of the Police. Grave abuses have crept into this branch of the service, and are responsible for administrative and judicial shortcomings that are generally deplored, besides producing a widespread and legitimate discontent. We have already sanctioned very considerable improvements, notably in the direction of securing a better class of men in the higher grades at a superior rate of pay, both in the Punjab, the North-Western Provinces, and Bengal. I will say no more at present than that the matter is one into which I hope to go more deeply.

There are a number of other subjects which fall within my category, but of which I prefer not to speak at present lest I might arouse false expectations. There are others again which can seldom be absent from the mind of any ruler of India, and to which, though he must speak with caution upon them, there is no need why he should not refer. The possibility of fiscal reforms, leading, if circumstances permit, to a reduction of taxation, is an object that is always in the background of his imagination. The protection and scientific propagation of agriculture, for which we have instituted a separate office of Inspector-General, the possible institution of agricultural banks, the question of assessments, the fostering of native handicrafts, and the encouragement of industrial exploitation in general—these are all aspects of the larger question of the economic development of the country upon which my colleagues and myself are bestowing the most assiduous attention. *Salus populi suprema lex;* and all the reforms to which I have been

alluding are, after all, subsidiary to the wider problem of how best to secure the happiness and prosperity of the helpless millions.

Upon this subject I should like to add a few words which I hope may tend to dissipate the too pessimistic views that appear to prevail in some quarters. There exists a school that is always proclaiming to the world the sad and increasing poverty of the Indian cultivator, and that depicts him as living upon the verge of economic ruin. If there were truth in this picture I should not be deterred by any false pride from admitting it. I should, on the contrary, set about remedying it to the best of my power at once. Wherever I go I endeavour to get to the bottom of this question, and I certainly do not fail to accept the case of our critics from any unwillingness to study it. In my Famine speech at Simla last October, in making a rough and ready assumption as to the agricultural income of India, I based myself upon the figures that were collected by the Famine Commission of 1880 and that were published in 1882. The agricultural income of India was calculated at that date as 350 crores, and at Simla I spoke of it as being now between 350 and 400 crores.[1] Thereupon I found my authority quoted in some quarters for the proposition that the agricultural wealth of the country had remained stationary for twenty years, while the population had gone on increasing by leaps and bounds. The further and equally erroneous assumption followed that there had been no rise in the interim in the non-agricultural income of the community; and I found myself cited as the parent of the astonishing statement that the average income of every inhabitant of India had sunk from Rs. 27 in 1882 to Rs. 22 in ordinary years and to Rs. 17½ in 1900—the inference of course being drawn that, while Nero has been fiddling, the town is burning.

I have since made more detailed inquiries into the matter. There are certain preliminary propositions to which I think that every one must assent. In every

[1] *I.e.* between 230 and 260 millions sterling. *Vide* vol. ii. p. 101.

country that is so largely dependent upon agriculture there comes a time, and it must come in India, when the average agricultural income per head ceases to expand for two reasons — first, that the population goes on increasing; second, that the area of fresh ground available for cultivation does not increase *pari passu*, but is taken up and thereby exhausted. When this point is reached, it is of no good to attack the Government for its inability to fight the laws of nature. What a prudent Government endeavours to do is to increase its non-agricultural sources of income. It is for this reason that I welcome, as I have said to-day, the investment of capital and the employment of labour upon railways and canals, in factories, workshops, and mills, in coal mines and metalliferous mines, on tea and sugar and indigo plantations. All these are fresh outlets for industry, and they diminish *pro tanto* the strain upon the agricultural population. That they are bringing money into the country and circulating it to and fro is evident from the immense increase in railway traffic both of goods and passengers, in postal and telegraph and money order business, in imports from abroad, and in the extraordinary amount of the precious metals that is absorbed by the people. These are not the symptoms of a decaying or of an impoverished population.

Turning, however, to Agriculture alone, concerning which the loudest lamentations are uttered, I have had worked out for me, from figures collected for the Famine Commission of 1898, the latest estimate of the value of the agricultural production of India. I find that in my desire to be on the safe side I underrated the total in my Simla speech. I then said between 350 and 400 crores. The total is 450 crores.[1] The calculations of 1880 showed an average agricultural income of Rs. 18 per head. If I take the figures of the recent census for the same area as was covered by the earlier computation, which amount to 223 millions, I find that the agricultural income has actually increased, notwithstanding

[1] *I.e.* 300 millions sterling.

the growth in the population, and the increasingly stationary tendency of that part of the national income which is derived from agriculture; and that the average per head is Rs. 20, or Rs. 2 higher than in 1880. If I then assume—and I know of no reason why I should not—indeed I think it an underestimate—that the non-agricultural income has increased in the same ratio, the average income will be Rs. 30 per head as against Rs. 27 in 1880.

I do not say that these data are incontrovertible. There is an element of the conjectural in them; but so there was in the figures of 1880. The uncertainty in both is precisely the same, and if one set of figures is to be used in the argument, equally may the other. Again, I do not claim that these calculations represent any very brilliant or gratifying result. We cannot be very happy in the face of the recent census, which shows an increase of population so much less than we had anticipated—a falling off which is no doubt due in the main to the sufferings through which India has passed, and which by so much reduces the denominator in our fraction. But at least these figures show that the movement is for the present distinctly in a forward, and not in a retrograde direction, that there is more money, and not less money, in the country, and that the standard of living among the poorer classes is going up and not down. Above all, they suggest that our critics should at least hold their judgment in suspense before they pronounce with so much warmth either upon the failure of the Indian Government or upon the deepening poverty of the people.

There is one point, however, in these calculations where we are upon very firm ground. In 1880 there were only 194 millions of acres under cultivation in India. There are now 217 millions, or an increase in virtually the same ratio as the increase in population. This alone would tend to show that there can have been no diminution of agricultural income per head of the people. The case for increase results from the increased

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standards of yield between 1880 and 1898. Perhaps the earlier estimates were too low. That I cannot say. The fact remains that the 1880 figures showed a yield per acre of food crops in British India of 730 lbs.; those of 1898 show a yield of 840 lbs. In some cases this will be due to improved cultivation, perhaps more frequently to extended irrigation. They are satisfactory so far as they go; for they show that the agricultural problem has not yet got the better of our rapidly increasing population. But they also show how dangerous it will be in the future if India, with this increase going on within, continues to rely mainly upon agriculture, and how important it is to develop our irrigational resources as the most efficient factor in an increase of agricultural production.

I have now brought to a termination this review of the present position in India and of the policy and attitude of Government. I have, I hope, extenuated nothing and exaggerated nothing. I am a believer in taking the public into the confidence of Government. The more they know, the more we may rely upon their support. I might have added that the policy which I have sketched has been pursued at a time when we have had to contend with a violent recrudescence of plague and with a terrible and desolating famine. But these facts are known to every one in this Chamber, and an allowance will be made by every fair-minded person for conditions so unfavourable to advance or prosperity in administration. Should our troubles pass away, I hope that in future years I may be able to fill in with brighter colours the picture which I have delineated to-day, and to point to a realisation of many of our projects which still remain untouched or unfulfilled.

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FOURTH BUDGET SPEECH (LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AT CALCUTTA)

March 26, 1902

We have had a somewhat discursive discussion; and as people are, as a rule, discursive only when they are in a good temper, I hope I may conclude that the second Budget of Sir E. Law is one that in its broad outlines has caused general satisfaction. There are several features of it which deserve to produce that result. The conversion of a modest into a handsome surplus in 1901-2, even if we have been assisted by good fortune, is itself gratifying. But even eliminating the accidental element from this expansion, and allowing for the caution with which my honourable friend framed his estimates a year ago, there remains in the elasticity exhibited by our main heads of revenue, and in the steady growth of receipts from those sources which indicate purchasing power and prosperity, sufficient cause for temperate congratulation. It is a great thing, for instance, to know that, after years of adversity and unfavourable criticism, we have finally turned the corner as regards our Railways, and that, in addition to the innumerable benefits which they have brought to all classes in the country, they are now a steady-recurring source of profit to the Indian taxpayer. During the three years since I took over my present office, more than 3000 miles of railroad have been opened in India. Over 2000 additional miles are under actual or impending construction, and we are gradually filling up the blank spaces in the map and the more obvious gaps in the public needs. The increased receipts, not merely from the main imports, such as cotton, sugar, silver, and mineral oils, but from post office, income-tax, stamps, excise—those sources, in fact, which I agree with Sir E. Law in regarding as evidence of an improving margin of wealth and comfort in the country,—point in the same direction. I know that it

does not do to be too cheerful in Indian finance, partly because of the vicissitudes to which we are liable, and still more because any one who dares to be cheerful is at once described as an optimist; and an optimist in respect of Indian financial or economic progress appears to be regarded in some quarters as a dangerous character. No one, I think, can charge me with having been an offender in that respect. But in the Budget speeches which I have delivered from this chair, and of which this is now the fourth, I can point with satisfaction to the fact that the hopeful forecasts in which I have from time to time indulged have in no case been falsified, while, when I said last year that India was already beginning to tread upon a brighter and happier pathway, I could not have wished for a more ample vindication of my remark than the Budget Statement which twelve months later has been laid upon this table.

However, when a Government finds itself in possession of large balances, the world is always more interested to know what they are going to do with them than how they got them; and I turn accordingly to the manner in which we have decided to dispose of our surplus funds. There are three methods of dealing with a surplus other than hoarding it: the first is to reduce taxation, the second is to increase administrative expenditure, and the third is to give relief to suffering classes or interests. Do not let it be supposed that, before deciding to adopt the second and third, we did not most carefully and exhaustively consider the first. Every Government, every Viceroy, and every Finance Minister must wish to reduce taxation, if they honestly and conscientiously can. We are not above those feelings; and, for my own part, if the conditions of our finance continue to improve, I entertain reasonable hopes of being able to recommend such a reduction before I leave this country. The Hon. Mr. Charlu said that he had never known a tax imposed in this country and afterwards taken off. He forgot that only an hour or two earlier he himself and all of us had voted for the abolition of the Pandhri-tax in the Central

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Provinces. But the questions which we had to ask ourselves on the present occasion were these: Are the burdens imposed upon the community by existing taxation so heavy as to stand in urgent need of mitigation? Is our position sufficiently assured to enable us to make what must be a permanent sacrifice of revenue, and to make it on a sufficient scale to relieve the people upon whom it presses with greatest weight? After a period of exceptional distress that has been confined to distant parts of the country, is a reduction of taxation which is bound to be general, rather than partial, in its application, the best method of setting the sufferers upon their legs again? We could not truthfully answer these questions in the affirmative. Though we have had surpluses now for three years, we could not say with absolute confidence that we have entered upon an era of assured annual surpluses. There is still a good deal of distress, and of conditions bordering upon famine, in other parts of India, and we all felt that we should like to see the outcome of the next monsoon. Again, we convinced ourselves upon inquiry that, even if we had run the risk and had reduced taxation, we should not have brought our charity home to those who most need it with the directness that we desired. A good deal of the sacrifice would have been spent upon classes and persons who, though they would have welcomed the relief, and though we might have been glad to give it, do not stand in real want. I do not share the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's views on our taxation. I do not believe that its total burden presses with cruelty upon the people. If the hon. member were to transfer his residence to any European country, I expect that he would very soon be back again here with altered views about fiscal matters. In the case of taxes affecting the entire community, it is further certain that, unless the reduction were on a very large scale indeed, the benefit would never reach the consumers at all. Sir E. Law, in his reply, has given the figures of what a substantial reduction of the salt-tax would mean. I wonder if half the speakers and writers

who so glibly recommend it have worked out what it would cost, and have paused to consider whether we could, in the present year, have afforded such a sacrifice. It is a question of capacity much more than of inclination. When the sacrifice entailed is to be reckoned not in lakhs, but in crores, the critics of Government can afford to be generous, because they have no responsibility; but Government, which is responsible, is bound to be circumspect.

We did not, however, come to our decision without consulting the heads of local administrations, and we found that, without an exception, they were in favour of relief in preference to reduction. The point upon which we laid the greatest stress was that relief, if given, should be given to the needy. Now the neediest among the needy in British India are, as no one will dispute, the cultivators who, in Bombay, the Punjab, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, and the British district of Ajmer, have, during the past two years, been so grievously smitten by famine. We ascertained that the total arrears of land revenue already suspended in these areas was just short of 2 crores, or a sum of £1,320,000. We therefore resolved to wipe off the whole of these arrears by a stroke of the pen. It would have taken three or four years to collect this sum, and a good deal of it, no doubt, would have never been collected at all. We thought it better, however, to remove all doubt upon the matter by writing off the entire debt, and by compensating the local governments for the portion of it that would, in ordinary circumstances, have fallen to their share. I have not yet heard of anybody, and there has been no one in this debate, who has seriously questioned the propriety of this decision. Looking to all that we have gone through, and may perhaps have to go through again, I am not going to claim this as a Prosperity Budget. But I do emphatically claim it as a Poor Man's Budget and a Peasant's Budget, and it has been a source of the greatest pleasure to my colleagues and myself to be able to evince our sympathy with those classes in this

practical form. I was glad to hear from the Hon. Mr. Bose, who is such a firm friend of their interests, that our gift has been received with deep gratitude.

Our second object was to set going again, at a becoming rate of speed, the administrative machine in the various provinces. Owing to the strain of the past few years, the stokers have everywhere been stinting their fuel in the furnaces, and the engines have not been going at much more than half-speed. Every branch of administration has suffered in consequence — education. police, public works, sanitation. This gradual deterioration is, in the long run, fatal to efficiency, for the machine itself gets rusty and unequal to its maximum capacity, while the engineers become indifferent and slack. Our first proceeding was, out of the large realised surplus of the past year, to assign 40 lakhs, or £266,000, as grants-in-aid to those provinces, viz. Bombay, Madras, the Central Provinces, and the Punjab, where the suspension of work had been most marked and most serious. This was for non-recurring expenditure, intended to restore the provincial administrations to the normal level of capacity and out-turn. Our next step was to provide the provinces in general with the materials for the fresh burst of activity which we desire to press upon them, by grants from our anticipated surplus of the ensuing financial year. With this object we have given them a further 90 lakhs, or £600,000. Of this, 40 lakhs are to be devoted to education. A good deal of this will clearly be non-recurring expenditure. But we entertain such strong views about the need of a greater outlay upon education, and the measures which we already have in hand, or are about to undertake, for the expansion of every branch of educational effort in India, must require such a continuous expenditure, that the charge is not likely to be reduced in succeeding years. The remaining 50 lakhs we have given to public works and sanitation, in both of which respects progress has been arrested in many quarters, and to making up the deficiencies in provincial establishments; of these 50 lakhs it is estimated that 30

will be recurring. I have been glad to hear from the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal so frank a testimony to the wisdom as well as the generosity of our policy in this respect. It is quite a new sensation for the Government of India to be applauded as the fond parent of a large family of devoted though impecunious children. I only hope that the experience will not be a short-lived one, and that the local Governments in their gratitude for our bounty will not fail to exercise the greatest vigilance and economy in its distribution.

Finally, we decided not to wait for the Report of the Irrigation Commission, but to devote an additional sum of 25 lakhs to minor works, such as tanks and wells, over and beyond the grant for larger works, which has been kept, since I have been in India, at the annual figure of one crore. My hon. colleague pointed out in his opening statement that if we add to these the sum given from the Famine Insurance Grant for unproductive works, we shall be spending upon irrigation in the following year a total capital outlay of 139 lakhs, or £927,000—a sufficient answer, I hope, to any who may hitherto have suspected the Indian Government of indifference to this most pressing need.

I have now explained and defended the financial policy which has found expression in this Budget; and I claim for it that, though alternative methods of spending our money might have been forthcoming, no means could have been devised better calculated to diffuse its benefits through every part of the country or to carry the sorely needed relief more swiftly to the necessitous spots. I pass to a consideration of the general policy which has been pursued by the Government of India during the past twelve months, and of the degree of advance that has been made on the path that we have chalked out for ourselves.

A year ago I gave an indication in outline of the various projects that we have in view. I should like, if I have time while in India, to place upon the anvil every branch of Indian policy and administration, to test its

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efficiency and durability, and, if possible, do something for its improvement; always bearing in mind that there is no finality in India or anywhere else, and that the utmost that any one Government or head of a Government can effect is to hand over the administrative machine to the next comer with all its parts intact and in good working order, capable of answering the fullest requirements that the conditions of the time are likely to impose. We have, I think, made substantial progress in several directions.

[Here followed a passage about Frontier Policy and the Frontier Province that is printed under that heading.]

During the past year the Imperial Cadet Corps, which is a dear child of mine, has started into being. We have without difficulty selected over twenty young men from the princely and aristocratic families of all India, drawing them from districts as far apart as Hyderabad, Vizianagram, the Frontier, Rajputana, and Kathiawar. The Corps includes four Ruling Chiefs, who have come to us at their own wish.[1] The discipline and training provided are in the main military, and the standard of living enforced is simple and strict. I am hopeful that in this institution we shall have found a means of providing honourable employment for selected scions of the Indian aristocracy, and of training the pick of their number so as to qualify for future military rank and service.

[Here followed a passage about Military Administration, which is printed under that heading.]

I am happy to be able to record the fact that we have in the past year secured that reduction in the Telegraphic rates between Europe and India for which I undertook to press three years ago. It is not as large a reduction as I should personally have liked or as will one day

[1] They were the Maharajas of Jodhpore and Kishengarh, the Nawab of Jaora, and the Raja of Rutlam. Other Ruling Chiefs have since passed through the Imperial Cadet Corps.

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come. But we have secured a conditional promise of a further reduction from 2s. 6d. to 2s. a word if the returns from traffic are found to justify it.[1] I should like also to find time to consider the question raised by the Hon. Mr. Turner, of telegraphic charges within this country, which seem to me to admit of some reform.[2]

It is gratifying to find that the policy which we initiated here three years ago of combating by such means as lay in our power the inequitable system of Sugar Bounties has not been without its effect upon public opinion elsewhere. I do not doubt that it has played its part in contributing towards the practical abolition of those bounties, which has been the result of the recent Brussels Conference, and which is one among many evidences of the shrewd and tactful diplomacy of Lord Lansdowne. The Convention has not yet been ratified by the Legislatures of foreign Powers, and until it comes into operation we must continue our precautions here. We must also be on our guard that the real objects of the agreement are not evaded by 'indirect bounties in one or other of many forms.

Passing to the sphere of internal administration, there are many respects in which we can claim that distinct progress has been made. The singularly able Report of Sir Antony MacDonnell and his colleagues upon the Famine Commission of last year has enabled us to frame definite rules upon many disputed points of famine policy and procedure; and we are, I hope, in process of evolving a Famine Code of general acceptance, which will guide our officers in future struggles.

In the course of last summer we completed a most careful and searching survey of the whole of our Land Revenue policy, and we endeavoured, in answer to our critics, to furnish to the world no mere departmental defence of our methods and objects, but a serious and conscientious examination of the subject of assessments in relation to the various parts of India, and to define

[1] This took place in 1905.
[2] This was carried out in 1904. *Vide* p. 312.

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the lines of broad and generous treatment in the future. Our pronouncement was not an academic treatise, meant to be read, or perhaps skipped, and then forgotten. We intend it to be a rule of guidance to the local administrations; and on points where doubt exists, or where the local practice does not appear to be in accordance with the principles laid down, we have addressed them with a view to ensuring conformity in the future. I am grateful for the reception that this document has met with from the public, which has more than repaid me for the months of labour that were devoted to the task. I hope that it has removed some misconceptions and dissipated some doubts.[1]

I have already mentioned the large grants that we are making in the forthcoming year to Education. These are the prelude to a policy of educational reform that was inaugurated with the deliberations of the Simla Conference last year, that is now being further investigated in respect of University education—a most important branch of the subject—by the Commission that is sitting under the presidency of the Legal Member, and that will not stop until it has embraced every branch of educational activity, secondary, primary, technical, industrial, and commercial. In all these respects money has been grudged in the past, and effort has been wasted or diffused, in the main from want of a definite plan. I conceive that a ruler could not bequeath to India a better legacy than the introduction of system, shape, and consistency into that which has hitherto been somewhat formless and void. Upon every one of the particulars that I have named, the local Governments have been addressed: their opinions have been invited as to positive suggestions and definite needs; and before another year has passed I hope that we may appear before the Indian public with a concrete policy that will communicate to Education in its various branches an impetus

[1] The allusion is to the Resolution on Land Revenue policy, which was issued in January 1902, and which, it is no secret, was written by Lord Curzon.

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that will not quickly faint or fade away. A Director-General of Education has arrived from England to act as adviser to the Government of India, and to assure that continuous interest in the matter at headquarters which has sometimes been lacking.[1] There is only one consideration that I would ask the public to bear steadily in mind. Education, if it is to be reformed, must be reformed for education's sake, not for the sake of political interests, or racial interests, or class interests, or personal interests. If that golden rule be borne in mind, both by the Government and the public, we shall get through. If it be forgotten, then the most strenuous of efforts may be choked with disappointment, or may perish in recriminations.

Throughout the past cold weather, the most momentous of our recent Commissions has been taking evidence in different parts of India upon the question of future extensions of Irrigation in this country. The figures that I have previously quoted will have reflected the general sympathy with which the Government of India regard a policy of unhesitating, even if it be sometimes experimental, advance in this direction. So vast is the field, so complex the subject, so enormously important may be the results, that a second cold weather will be required before the Commission has completed its labours. I warn the country that its report will mean the expenditure of money, perhaps of much money, in the future; and I invite those gentlemen who are so keen upon extensive reductions of taxation, and who are probably also among the foremost champions of a generous policy of irrigation, to pause a little, and think whether there is perfect consistency in their attitude. I say boldly that my policy in India involves the spending, though not, I hope, the waste, of money. You cannot have reforms, and not pay for them. I shall hope to leave administration in India more efficient than I found it. But I shall assuredly not do so unless I add, I do not say to the relative, but to the aggregate expense.

[1] M. H. W. Orange. *Vide* vol. ii. p. 68.

There are several questions which we have upon the stocks, and which we hope to carry forward during the ensuing year. There is the institution of Agricultural Banks, or Mutual Credit Societies, which has been alluded to by Sir E. Law. I am far from predicting confidently that this experiment will be suited to the conditions of Indian life. But at least let us try, and if we do not attain success, let it not be from failure to deserve it. Sir E. Law and I are very anxious to see a large development of steel and iron-making industries in this country. India, with its great resources, ought to be far more self-sufficing than she is. One day, when we are gone, this will be a great industrial and manufacturing country, and we may be proud of having added our humble pebble to the cairn of her future prosperity. There is another respect in which we are desirous to bring our administrative mechanism more up to the level of modern requirements. This is by the institution of a Commercial Bureau, or Department of Government, which will take special charge of trade, customs, and the like, and will both advise Government, and act as the intermediary between it and the mercantile public. In another direction I hope to communicate a definite stimulus, and to breathe fresh life into the dwindling and sometimes perishing art industries of India, by holding an Exhibition in connection with the Coronation Durbar at Delhi in January next. I should be very sorry if that great function, even though it be one of official ceremony and national rejoicing, were mainly limited to pageantry and pleasure. I should like it to be of permanent service to the people; and it occurred to me that a better way of securing that end could not be contrived than to assemble there a collection of all the best that the Indian artificer or handicraftsman is capable of producing, so as both to appeal to the taste of the immense audience that will be gathered together, and to encourage and revive the industries themselves.[1]

Lastly, there is another subject that we are about to

[1] *Vide* the speeches printed under the heading "Art."

take in hand. I spoke last year of Police Reform as one of the most urgent needs of Indian administration. The matter has not been lost sight of since, and we have recently sent home proposals to the Secretary of State for the constitution of a Commission, to concentrate into final shape and conclude the independent inquiries that we have been making, but that are at present somewhat lacking in consistency and unity, because of the very varying aspect of the problem in the different provinces. This will, I hope, be the last big Commission for the appointment of which I shall be responsible, but the work that lies before it, and that touches every home, and almost every individual in every home, in the country, will not be the least in importance. I agree with the Lieutenant-Governor in thinking that, in some respects, it will be the first.

Now I can quite believe that there will be some persons who will say that the present administration is earning a strange and abnormal repute, as one of Commissions, Committees, and inquiries. The charge is quite true. I do not for one moment dispute it. We have had a Famine Commission and a Horse-Breeding Commission. We have got now at work an Irrigation Commission and a Universities Commission. We have a very alert and capable Special Commissioner who is examining into our railways;[1] and I started nearly three years ago the plan of a Travelling Railway Commission, that has already visited and conducted local inquiries in several parts of India. I have myself presided over Conferences to inquire into the question of Education at large, and into the teaching and system of the Chiefs' Colleges. We have had Committees to report upon agricultural banks, upon military decentralisation, upon commissariat frauds, upon the starting of technical and industrial schools, and upon other and less important matters. And now there is the proposal of a Police Commission which I have just launched. What, it may

[1] Mr. T. Robertson, who spent the years 1901-3 in examining the railway systems of India and America, and then issued his Report.

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be said, is the use of all these investigations? Are you not tending to obscure the issue and to delay action? The answer to these questions is, in my opinion, very simple. The object of all these inquiries is in every case the same, viz. to arrive at the truth. The truth ought, I suppose, theoretically to be lying about, like an exquisite shell on the sea-shore, open to the eyes of men. But in practice it is apt to be overlaid by all manner of sea-weed and sand and slime, and it has to be dug out and extricated from its covering or its surroundings. If I have undertaken the policy of reform of which I have been speaking, I positively decline to accept the responsibility until we know where we are, what are the exact features of the problem that we have to deal with, and what, on the whole, is the best that it is open for us to do. A reform in India is a change applied not to a town, or a district, or a province, or a country, but to a continent. Conceive any one proposing a new plan or a new policy for the whole of Europe—if such a thing were practicable,—and doing it without the fullest inquiry in advance—inquiry both to ascertain the dimensions and necessities of the case, and to let the various experts and authorities have their say. There is no country in which this is more essential than India, where there is always a danger that the executive authority may be out of touch with a constituency so scattered and so huge, and where, therefore, I am always insisting upon the necessity of building bridges between the Government and the people. I do not say that every Commission or Committee is everywhere invariably appointed with the objects that I have described. I have known the opposite. They may be said indeed to fall into two categories—Commissions to shelve, and Commissions to solve. If any one thinks that any of the Indian inquiries to which I have alluded have belonged to the former class, he is greatly mistaken; and if any sleeping partner in the abuses or errors which we desire to correct is hugging to himself the illusion that these Commissions will pass by like a gust of wind, and leave

no trace but a Report behind, he will suffer a rude awakening. I am a disciple of the wise man who said that words are women, but deeds are men; and though I am far from anticipating that any of our investigators will show the slightest lack of virility in their reports—the Famine Commission certainly did not—yet it is to the action taken upon their Reports, rather than to the Reports themselves, that the final weight is to be attached. Perhaps I may also add that if any one is disposed to think that the constitution of an Indian Commission, and its process from the cradle to the grave, are light and perfunctory operations, that can be airily undertaken by one who is either a dilettante or is inclined to be a shirk, he displays an extreme ignorance of the subject. There is the reference to be drawn up, involving long and anxious study, the Secretary of State to be consulted, the consent of his Council obtained, the members to be selected by a careful balance of the interests and merits, not merely of individuals, but of provinces, races, and even of creeds. Very often there is prolonged correspondence with local Governments. Then, when the work is started, references and intermediate Reports are continually coming in, which the head of the Government is compelled to study. Later on there is the Report itself, which condenses the labours perhaps of a twelvemonth, and the intellectual precipitation of a multitude of minds. Then comes the detailed examination of the Report, the discussion of the extent to which it can or should be acted upon, further consultation with the Home Government, and perhaps with local Governments, and, finally, the orders of Government in a succinct form. I can assure hon. members that it needs, not indifference, but no small spirit, to start and to see through an Indian Commission from beginning to end, and I would earnestly recommend any Viceroy who desires to have a quiet and easy time to eschew my perilous example.

Before I close this long, but not, I hope, unjustified speech, there is one subject to which I should like to

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make brief allusion. I daresay that hon. members are familiar with the view, to which I have often given public expression, of the part that is played by India in the Imperial system. I am myself, by instinct and by conviction, an Imperialist, and I regard the British Empire not merely as a source of honourable pride to Englishmen, but as a blessing to the world. In the picture of what the Empire is, and what it is capable of doing, India has always, in my eyes, assumed a predominant place. Her geographical position, her resources, and the part that she has played in history, are sufficient to explain this importance. But I often wonder if the outside public has any conception of the extent to which it is illustrated in the politics of the hour, or of the contributions that have been made by this great dependency to the cohesion and defence of the Empire. I should like to give to this Council a few illustrations of my meaning, derived from the experiences of the past two years.

It is, I think, generally known that it was by the loan and prompt despatch of British troops from India that Natal was saved from being overrun by the Boers at the beginning of the South African Campaign. It was the holding of Ladysmith that prevented them from sweeping down to the sea. That service has been publicly acknowledged by the Commander-in-Chief in England, and by the Secretary of State for War. It is also known that it was an Indian General,[1] commanding native troops from India, that relieved the Legations at Peking; and further, that, in the absence of our European troops elsewhere, it has been by native regiments that our garrisons in China have since been supplied. But the extent or value of our contribution in either case is perhaps imperfectly understood. Since the beginning of the war in South Africa we have sent from India 13,200 British officers and men to that country, of whom 10,000 are still absent. Over 9000 natives, principally followers, have gone with them, of whom 5600 are still

[1] Sir A. Gaselee.

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away. To China we sent 1300 British officers and men, nearly 20,000 native troops, and 17,500 native followers, of whom 10,000 native soldiers and 3500 followers are still away. I venture to say that these are very large and handsome contributions.

Then I would like to mention another respect in which we have been of service. This has been in the provision of ammunition, stores, and supplies. In these two wars we have sent out from India 21 million rounds of ammunition and 114,000 projectiles and shells, 11,000 tents, 11,000 sets of saddlery, 315,000 helmets, 169,000 blankets, 290,000 pairs of boots, 42,000 tons of fodder and rations, and 940,000 garments of various descriptions. These articles have not been required either wholly or mainly for the Indian forces. They have been ordered for all the troops in the field. The whole of them have been manufactured in this country, and the benefit has not, of course, been altogether one-sided, since their manufacture has given employment and wages to thousands of Indian artisans. During the same period we have sent out 11,600 horses, 6700 mules and ponies, and 2700 bullocks. We have also despatched small bodies of men to take part in minor campaigns that have been waged in Somaliland, Jubaland, and other parts of Africa; and we have undertaken to raise, for the Colonial Office, five native regiments for service in the Asiatic Colonies or possessions of Great Britain.

But our services do not stop short at the loan of military resources and men. India is becoming a valuable nursery of public servants in every branch of administration, upon whom foreign Governments as well as the British Empire show an increasing inclination to indent. We have over a dozen officers from India in the service of Siam. We have medical officers serving in Persia, Abyssinia, East Africa, and the Straits Settlements. We have engineers in Egypt, Nigeria, Uganda, and China. We have postal and telegraph officers at the sources of the Nile, on the Zambesi, and at the Cape. Scarcely a week passes but I do not receive a

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request for the loan or gift of the services of some officer with an Indian training. This is a tribute to our system, and a striking vindication of its value.

Now, when the Empire calls upon us to make these contributions or loans, I do not pretend that on our side of the ledger is to be written only loss. Very far from it. The entire expenses of the troops while they are out of India are, of course, borne by the Imperial Government, and everything ordered from us is paid for by them. Nay more, the absence of these large bodies of men in South Africa and China for so long a period of time has resulted in the present case in very great savings to ourselves, owing to the relief of all financial responsibility for the absent units. These savings have amounted to a sum of $3\frac{1}{4}$ crores, or £2,180,000, and without them we should not have been able to embark upon the policy of military reorganisation that I have before sketched.

We, therefore, have profited as well as the Empire, although our profit has been pecuniary, while hers has been moral and material. Our gain has been due to the accident of the prolonged absence of our troops. But our contribution was made independently of any thought or prospect of gain, and was a service to the Empire. By reducing our garrisons we were content to run a certain risk—for who knows what may happen on an Asiatic frontier,—but we did it in the interests of the Empire, with whose stability our own is bound up. During the past three years it has been the constant duty of the Government of India to balance the Imperial and the Indian aspects of our obligations; and if we have been helpful to the Empire without detriment to the true interests of this country, then I am sure that there is no one who will not be willing to endorse and even to share our responsibility. We do not go upon our knees and supplicate for favours in return; but we beg that the part played by India in the Imperial system, and the services rendered by us in time of trouble, may not be forgotten by the British nation, and

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that they may find in it, when the occasion arises, good grounds for reciprocal generosity and help.

FIFTH BUDGET SPEECH (LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AT CALCUTTA)

March 25, 1903

Among the objects that I have set before myself ever since I have been in India, and high up among the tasks of which I have sometimes spoken, has been a reduction of the burdens that rest upon the shoulders of the people. In my first Budget speech in 1899 I discussed the question of remission of taxation, and showed that the time was not yet. Then we found ourselves caught in a cyclone of famine and general suffering, and all such ideas had to be postponed. In my third Budget speech I again cautiously alluded to the matter; but, as we were still in the wood and had not got out into the open, I dared neither to be sanguine nor prophetic. Last year we had a large surplus, and I discussed in my Budget remarks the different ways in which we might have spent it. We decided to make a substantial gift to those classes of the population who had been hardest hit in the recent visitations, and we wiped off arrears of land revenue amounting to nearly 2 crores, or a sum of £1,320,000. Now at last in my fifth year we are able to take the further step that has all along been in our minds; and my present Budget speech is the pleasantest that I have yet been called upon to deliver, since it is associated with the first serious reduction of taxation that has been made in India for twenty years.

My view about Taxation in this country has all along been this. I have never believed that, judged by any or all of the tests that are commonly and fairly applied, it is excessive or even high. I believe, on the whole, that so long as a liberal policy of remissions and suspensions of land revenue is pursued in bad times, it presses very

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lightly upon the people. But the material condition, or the relative acquiescence, of a people is not the sole measure of what taxation should be. Otherwise there would be a good argument for squeezing everybody up to the point at which he can give forth moisture without an audible groan. Another test which a just and liberal-minded Government cannot fail to apply is the observance of a due proportion between the revenues that are drawn from the people and the calls that are made upon them by a reasonably progressive standard of administration. When it is found that for a series of years, including years of misfortune, the revenues of a country produce a considerable annual surplus over and above what is required by administrative needs, even interpreting these in the most generous spirit, then I think that the time has arrived for taking from the people somewhat less; and it is these considerations that have led my colleagues and myself to give this relief, added to the fact that it has been long promised, and that the patience of the community has itself enhanced the case for remission. Sir E. Law, whom I must take leave to congratulate both upon the results that he has achieved, and upon the modesty with which he has announced them, has shown in his statement that we have endeavoured to bring our bounty home to those classes of the community that most require it, through the relief of the income-tax to the struggling members of the middle class, through the reduction of the salt duty to the cultivating millions. The total annual sacrifice of revenue which we have thus accepted amounts to nearly 210 lakhs, or £1,400,000, and it will not, I hope, henceforward be in the power of any one to say that we have refused to the people a due share in the improving prosperity of the country, or that Government has either selfishly absorbed or unwisely dissipated the fruits of the national industry. Some fear has been expressed that the benefits of the reduction of the salt-tax may be frittered away before they reach the consumer. But if we examine the result of what happened

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at the last reduction in 1882, and again when the duty was reimposed in 1888, we find good reason for thinking that a difference of 8 annas per maund does filter down to the people, and is reflected both in the price of the commodity and in an increase or decrease of consumption. Of course the reduction of taxation now does not carry with it any promise that it will never at any time be reimposed. The income-tax in England, which is the great national reserve, goes up and down according to the financial position; and every civilised Government must have at its disposal the means of meeting an emergency, whether caused by war or anything else. The utmost that the community can demand is that taxation which has been taken off upon its own merits shall not be lightly reimposed, and that the financial emergency which is held to justify its reimposition shall be proportionate in degree to the prosperity which was responsible for the original relief. I hope myself that the consumption of salt may increase steadily under the lowered rate of duty, and that Government will gradually reap its reward in a recovery of revenue as well as in the gratitude of the people.

One thing it may interest hon. members to know, namely, that since the salt duties were equalised throughout India, there has never been a period, except the six years between 1882 and 1888, at which the duty anywhere in India has stood so low as the rate to which we have now reduced it, and that since India was taken over by the Crown in the middle of the last century, the duty in Northern India and Bengal was never lower than two rupees eight annas except during the period above mentioned. These facts are, I think, of importance as tending to show the genuine and exceptional character of the present boon, and also the desire of Government, so far from making increasing expenditure an excuse for increasing calls upon the poorer classes of the population, to allow them to be the first to profit by an all-round improvement in the national resources. There is one consequence that I hope may ensue from

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these measures of financial relief. I hope they may give the public at large, both in India and outside of it, a little greater confidence in the position and prospects of this country. Year after year we have put forward at this table statements of figures and facts tending irresistibly to show that there is a great reserve of economic vitality in India, which not even plague and famine and the expenditure entailed thereby have availed to subdue. We have shown steadily improving revenues, large and increasing surpluses, advances in all the tests that indicate material prosperity. We have even been able from time to time to confer, as we did last year, very large and substantial boons. But there has always remained a school of thought that declined to be convinced. With them the poverty of the Indian peasant, the decline of the country, and I may almost say its ultimate ruin, have almost become an article of political belief, based upon sentiment rather than reason, and impervious to the evidence of facts. And the final argument that has always been used by critics of this class is the following: "We are not impressed by your figures; we do not believe in your surpluses; we are not even convinced by your occasional doles. Not until you give a permanent relief of taxation shall we be persuaded either of the sympathy of Government or of the prosperity of the country. That is the sure and final test of the condition of India and of the statesmanship of its rulers." Well, I feel inclined to take these critics at their own word, and to invite them, now that we have subscribed to their test, to abate their melancholy, and to be a little more generous and less sceptical in the future.

I do not wish it for a moment to be thought that, because we have been able to remit the best part of 1½ million sterling per annum in taxation, therefore there is no poverty in India. Far from it. There is enough, and far more than enough. There is a great deal more than any one of us can contemplate with equanimity or satisfaction. The size and growth of the popula-

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tion, the character of their livelihood, and to some extent their own traditions and inclinations, render this inevitable. But I do not believe that the people are getting poorer. On the contrary, I hold that they are making slow but sure advances, and that in normal conditions this progress is certain to continue. But in my view this can only be achieved if all those who are concerned with the problem, whether as administrators or critics, do so in a spirit not of pessimism, but of cheerfulness. As little by little we get forward, I would crown every milestone on the path with roses instead of wetting it with tears.

There is another point of view from which I would for a moment invite the Council and the outside public to regard the relief which has been announced in this Budget, since I think that here again we may find a useful corrective to some of the dangers of premature criticism. How often have we not been told in certain quarters in the past three months that the Delhi Durbar was a foolish and even wicked extravagance, because we spent the money of the people—how much or how little I shall presently show—without announcing to them a substantial benefit in return. I am not sure that my hon. friend Mr. Charlu is not a little unsound on this point himself; for he generously offered to let bygones be bygones, as though there was something that we would rather like to forget. That is not at all our view. I may remark that I should have been glad enough to make the announcement at the Durbar, but that it is the usual practice of modern Governments to connect relief of taxation with Budget statements and with the beginning or end of the financial year. I should have thought that this was tolerably clear from my Durbar speech. However, our eager and incredulous friends would not wait even for three months. In their view the golden opportunity had been thrown away, and the Government that had sacrificed it had proved its indifference to the public interest. I feel tempted to wonder whether the Durbar, which I firmly believe that

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$\frac{9}{10}$ths—I think I might say $\frac{99}{100}$ths—of those who either saw it or know anything about it regard as having been a unique success, will be relieved from the charge of failure at the hands of the minority who have hitherto so represented it, now that the solitary cause which was alleged to have been responsible for that failure has disappeared by the announcement in March of the bounty which they would have preferred to secure in January. When the Durbar is cited in the history of the future, even from the narrow point of view of material result alone, will it be quoted by the class of opinion of which I am speaking as a success because it heralded the present relief, or as a failure because it fell short by three months of anticipating it? I do not fancy that there can be much doubt as to the response.

[Here followed certain paragraphs about the Delhi Durbar, which have been extracted from this place and reproduced under that heading, and under the heading of "Indian Art."]

Among the most contented of the participators at Delhi were the Ruling Chiefs of India, and not the least contended of them, I venture to say, was the Chief of premier rank, His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. I have had no previous opportunity of alluding to the agreement that I was fortunate enough to be able to conclude with him a little while before the Durbar. I may perhaps indulge in a brief reference to it now.

It was an Agreement regulating the future of the districts hitherto designated the Assigned Districts of Hyderabad, and more popularly known as Berar. The papers concerning that Agreement have been made public,[1] and it is open to any one to form his opinion of the arrangement arrived at, and of the steps by which it was attained. I believe that it has generally been

[1] They were published as a Parliamentary Blue-Book in 1902. The upshot of the Agreement concluded by Lord Curzon was that for an annual payment of 25 lakhs to the Nizam the Government of India obtained a perpetual lease of Berar, and were able to incorporate it in the administration of the Central Provinces. Thus was healed a sore that had rankled for fifty years.

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accepted as an Agreement honourable to both parties and bringing to a satisfactory termination a state of affairs that had for half a century been neither satisfactory nor profitable to either. I will only add here, as the correspondence has shown, that the Agreement, following upon a friendly exchange of views between His Highness the Nizam and myself, represented the free and unfettered disposition of both parties, and that no trace of any opposite influence entered at any moment into its negotiation. His Highness is not less gratified with the Agreement than we are, and if both parties are equally content, then I think that there is nothing unreasonable in asking the public to join in our felicitations. There are few questions of delicacy or difficulty connected with Native States in which it has not been my experience that the Chief is ready to discuss them in the most frank and courteous spirit with the head of the Government of India.

I now pass to the wider range of subjects that is apt to be opened up by a Budget debate. In some of these discussions I have spoken of the duties with which Government has charged itself, and of the manner in which they are being fulfilled. I do not propose to-day to say much of the labours that lie behind us. I will merely allude to a few that are in a state of transitional development, and the course of which we watch with natural anxiety from year to year. Our currency policy is working well, and is bringing back confidence to every branch of Indian finance and trade. Our frontier policy has so far been fortunate. The new province is prospering, and we are gradually extending the application of the principles upon which our frontier policy depends. The Punjab Land Alienation Act is reported to be succeeding beyond expectation, and encourages us to approach with greater confidence attempts to arrest the evils of indebtedness and expropriation of the agricultural population elsewhere. The industrial legislation that we have passed during the past two years is bearing good fruit; and the increased wage for the coolie in the

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tea gardens of Assam will come into operation in the ensuing year. Rearmament has been completed in the regular Army, and only remains to be extended to the Volunteers, and we are proceeding to the organisation of internal factories so as to render ourselves self-sufficing in the future.

There is one matter which I have before now mentioned at this table, and to which I have attached an importance that has not always been recognised. I allude to the orders that we passed for a reduction in the number and length of official Reports—that time-honoured foible and snare of Indian administration. Some people said that the idea was excellent, but that the orders would be nugatory, and the difference *nil*; others applauded conciseness in the abstract, but deplored it in the case of every Report to which it was applied. Of course we could not expect all in a moment to hit off the exact mean between prolixity and undue contraction, or to teach every officer straight away how to frame the ideal Report. But that our orders have not only not been abortive, but have produced very material results, will, I think, be evident from the following figures. The total number of obligatory Reports to Government has been reduced from nearly 1300 to a little over 1000. But the difference in their contents is more notable still. Before the issue of the new orders, the number of pages of letterpress submitted and printed was 18,000; it is now 8600. The number of pages of statistics was 17,400; it is now 11,300, or a total reduction of pages of contents from 35,400 to less than 20,000. I do not think that this reduction has been achieved at any cost whatever of administrative efficiency. What it has meant in relief to the compiling officers, and in the release of energy for other and more important branches of work, will be patent to any one who has the smallest experience of Indian administration.

I do not now propose to dwell further upon the past. I prefer, in what I have to say, to look ahead, and to

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form an estimate of the work that still awaits my colleagues and myself, before we can say that the work of reform and reconstruction that we assumed has been duly started on its way, or before we can afford to rest a little on our oars. Sometimes I confess that I get a little appalled at the magnitude of the undertaking, and disappointed at the reception that appears to await reform. The very people who applaud reform and cry for the reformer are apt to express immense surprise at the one, and no small resentment at the other, when they are forthcoming; there are so many excellent arguments for doing nothing, such a reposeful fascination in just scraping along. I have even learned in this country a new and captivating doctrine, namely, that it is considered a mistake in some quarters to inquire at all. I came here with the idea that no sphere of administrative work in the world admits less of hasty generalisation or abrupt action than India; that the features of race, religion, and locality are so divergent, the needs of different provinces so opposite, the general lack of uniformity so striking, that before any organic changes could be introduced, profound and careful investigation was required, and a consultation of local authority and opinion, however bewildering the differences might be, was essential. If I held these views four years ago, still more do I hold them now. They are the commonplaces of Oriental administration. They seem to me the A B C of Indian politics. I cannot conscientiously recede from them in any respect. And yet how familiar I now am with the charge that it is a waste of time and a proof of insincerity to inquire, that Commissions are an expensive extravagance, and that the problems which we are engaged in laboriously investigating are so well known that only the meanest capacity is required to solve them without further ado. I do not think that the withers of my colleagues or myself have been wrung by these remarks. Indeed, I have a shrewd suspicion that the very persons who protest against inquiry before action as a superfluity, would equally denounce action

without inquiry as an outrage. I am afraid, therefore, that we shall obstinately continue our policy of ascertaining the data before we proceed to act upon them, although it will be gratifying to those who are so impatient for deeds to know that, in the case of the whole of our Commissions, the stage of investigation is now almost at an end, and that there lies immediately in front of us the onerous and responsible task of translating so much of their recommendations as we may decide to accept into practice. Who knows that before long we shall not have the charge brought against us of acting too much after having inquired too little? Perhaps we shall even be told, as we have been in a well-known case, that it was not necessary either to inquire or to act at all.

There is one respect in which we have just taken the final steps in dealing with the policy recommended by one of the most important Commissions that have sat and reported during my time. I allude to Sir A. MacDonnell's Famine Commission. Soon after the Report first reached us, we issued orders to the local Governments upon so much of the Report as we accepted ourselves without demur, and as we knew to be similarly acceptable to them. Since then we have conducted an exhaustive correspondence with the local Governments and with the Secretary of State upon the more disputed aspects of the case, and we are now about to issue a Resolution embodying final orders on the subject. A revised code of Famine procedure, based upon the latest experience, will then be at hand throughout India, which will regulate the operations of the next campaign as soon as it has to be undertaken. I do not assume for a moment that the last word on Famine Relief has been spoken, or that later experience may not guide us to even further improvements of system. The utmost that we can do at each stage is to profit by the lessons hitherto learned, and to translate our experience with as little delay as possible into executive orders and action, so that when the next calamity comes, Governments

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and individuals may go calmly to their task, instead of rushing into all sorts of experiments, and making all kinds of blunders which have to be paid for at a heavy cost later on.

The Hon. Rai Sri Ram Bahadur addressed to me today a personal appeal to do something before I go, to strike at the root of the evil, by preventing the recurrence of Famine in the future in this country. If there was one accessible root, and if the axe of Government could be laid to it, who can doubt that, not this Government alone, but every one of its predecessors, would long ago have discerned the seat of the evil, and have applied the instrument of destruction to it? We are cutting at the subsidiary roots. Extended irrigation, improved education, attempts to relieve the indebtedness and to increase the material prosperity of the people, crop experiments, scientific research, and a careful overhauling of the machinery with which we meet drought when it comes—all these are efforts which will gradually diminish the severity, and, I hope, contract the area of famines in India. But to ask any Government to prevent the occurrence of famine in a country the meteorological conditions of which are what they are here, and the population of which is growing at its present rate, is to ask us to wrest the keys of the universe from the hands of the Almighty. I cannot furnish a better illustration of this than that which was given by the hon. member himself. In the autumn of the past year it was by the dispensation of Providence alone, when the monsoon suddenly revived in the months of August and September, that what might have been famine conditions were turned into prosperity conditions during the present winter. The best Government in the world could not have accelerated that change by a single second; the worst Government could not have retarded it. The hon. member seems to think that famines in this country used not to be so bad in former years, and that similar calamities do not occur under similar conditions elsewhere. If he will study the

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Reports of the various Famine Commissions, he will find a good deal to throw doubt upon the former statement. If he turns to the history of Russia, he will find good reason for changing his opinion upon the latter. Government should never slacken for one moment in its peace campaign, just as much as in its war campaign, against famine. Thus we shall render it less formidable and shall gradually gain the upper hand. But we are not, in my judgment, as yet within measurable distance of the time when the word prevention can be much upon our lips.

As to the work that still lies before us, it falls under eight headings, concerning each of which I have a few words to say. It must not be thought that the order in which I happen to name them is the order of their importance. All are equally important, and all are simultaneously being taken up. Neither must it be thought, when I speak of them in the future, that we are now about to start work upon any of them for the first time. Throughout the past four years there is not one among them that has not been almost continuously under our notice. In every case we have reached an advanced stage of inquiry, and in some cases of action, and it only remains for us to carry these proceedings to the final stage, and to present to the Secretary of State and to the country the bases of a definite policy to be consistently pursued in the future.

The first of these is Education.[1] Do not let any one suppose that in any aspect of education we shrink from the duty that we have undertaken, which is that of formulating for the country a revised scheme of Education in all its branches—University, secondary, primary, technical, and commercial. But we must postulate a little patience and ask for a little time. The proposals are so multiform, the needs so different, the guidance that we receive from the public so perplexing, that sometimes one scarcely sees light through the trunks of

[1] The ensuing paragraphs may be read in connection with the speeches on Education which are printed under a separate heading in this volume.

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the trees. The subject of Education, however, and particularly of University Education in India, illustrates very forcibly what I said a little while back. More than a year and a half ago I presided over a Conference of leading educational authorities, official and unofficial, at Simla, in order to assure myself of the trend of expert knowledge and opinion on these subjects. I remember at that time that the prevailing apprehension was lest the Government should suddenly spring a new educational policy upon the country without giving to the interested parties an opportunity of having their say, and that the Simla decrees would be issued as a mandate to the nation. Nobody, I may say, ever entertained such a notion in the Government itself. On the contrary, we meant from the start to give to the qualified public the fullest opportunity for expressing its views. Accordingly we appointed a Commission, under my hon. colleague Mr. Raleigh, to examine into the question of the Universities, and we consulted the local Governments upon every other feature of our plans. Since then the public has had the best part of a year in which to expend its energies upon discussion—an opportunity by which no one can say that it has not profited. Whether Government has profited equally by these proceedings is open to doubt; for I observe that whereas a year and a half ago every one was agreed that Education in India stood most ungently in need of reform, that it had got entirely into the wrong groove, and was going steadily downhill, dispensing an imperfect education through imperfect instruments to imperfect products with imperfect results—a great many of the interested parties now meet together and proclaim in injured tones that they stand in no need of reformation at all. Now let me say at once that this is not good business. I lay down as an absolute and unassailable proposition that our educational systems in India are faulty in the extreme, and that unless they are reformed, posterity will reproach us for the lost opportunity for generations to come. I remind the public

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that that proposition was most cordially endorsed by every shade of opinion one and a half years ago. Since then we have shown a consideration for the interests of all concerned and a reluctance to act with precipitation that have been pushed almost to extremes, and have exposed us to the charge of timidity and irresolution. My object throughout has been to carry the public with us in our reforms, and to base them upon the popular assent. I am still hopeful that better counsels will prevail, and I shall spare no effort to attain this result. But if every reform proposed is to be overwhelmed with obloquy and criticism because it touches some vested interest or affects some individual concern; if change of any kind is to be proscribed merely because it is change; if the appetite for reform, so strong two years ago, has now entirely died down—then I must point out that the educated community will have forfeited the greatest chance ever presented to them of assisting the Government to place the future education of this country upon a better footing, and Government will be left to pursue its task alone. I should be most reluctant to be driven to this course. I want to reform education in India, I will not say *omnium consensu*, because that may be an impossible aspiration, but with the goodwill and assent of reasonable and experienced men, and I have a right to ask that, in so far as they are dissatisfied with the *status quo* they shall render our course not more difficult, but more easy.

I am well aware that University Education does not exhaust the field or the requirements of Education in this country. There are many other aspects of the problem scarcely less important which we also have under examination—Secondary Education, or education in the High Schools leading up to the Colleges; Primary Education, or the education of the masses in the vernacular; Commercial education, or the provision of a training that shall qualify young men for a business career; Agricultural Education, *i.e.* a practical as well as a theoretical instruction in the staple industry of the

country; Technical and Industrial Education, or the application of scientific methods and principles to the practice of national industries and handicrafts,—all of these have come under review, and we are little by little shaping the principles that will presently form the basis of a policy and a programme. I would only say to the public, Do not be impatient, and do not be censorious; do not impute dark conspiracies, or assume that all the misguided men in the country are inside the Government and all the enlightened outside it. What could be easier than for Government not to have taken up educational reform at all, or even now to drop it altogether? All the wild talk about killing Higher Education and putting education under the heel of Government merely obscures the issue and paralyses action. Surely there are enough of us on both sides who care for education for education's sake, who are thinking, not of party triumphs, but of the future of unborn generations, to combine together and carry the requisite changes through. I cannot imagine a worse reflection upon the educated classes in India, or a more crushing condemnation of the training that we have given them, than that they should band themselves together to stereotype existing conditions, or to defeat the first genuine attempt at reform that has been made for a quarter of a century. I agree with the Hon. Mr. Gokhale that Education is one of the most solemn duties of the State. But the State, I venture to point out, is the aggregate of its own citizens, and not a mere governing organisation alone; and in the latter capacity the State cannot discharge its educational responsibility without the cordial co-operation of the community at large. Before I leave the subject of Education I will only add one word upon the subject of Scientific Research. This is, of course, the apex of educational advancement; and in relaying the foundations nothing would give the Government greater pleasure than to contribute to the possibility of adding the crown. I hope that Mr. Tata's splendid benefaction will shortly

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take practical shape. I have seen all sorts of assertions that it has languished for want of sympathy in official quarters. There is not an atom of truth in this insinuation, and when the history is published, as it shortly will be, no further apprehensions need arise. On the contrary, I hope that the scheme may then move rapidly towards realisation.

The second subject that awaits our treatment, and that will occupy us in the forthcoming year, is Irrigation. For two cold weathers has the Irrigation Commission been pursuing its energetic researches, and soon after we get to Simla the Report will be in our hands. It will give us an exhaustive review of the capabilities for water storage or water utilisation of every part of the Indian Continent; and then we shall have to set to work to provide for every province its reasoned programme of tanks, or reservoirs, or wells, or canals, mapped out over a long series of years, and devised with strict regard to the experiences or the exigencies of drought. Much money will be required; many experiments will have to be made; some failures will be registered. But at least it will not be possible to say that the Government of India has ignored this aspect of the agricultural and industrial problem, or that we are wasting our water because we do not know how to use it.

Then we have the impending Report of the Police Commission and the impending reform of the Indian Police. I know no more of the proceedings of the Commission than has appeared in the newspapers, and I am unaware what our Commissioners will say. But if any one had any doubt as to the need of inquiry, I should think that this must have been dissipated by the nature of the evidence that has been forthcoming; and if any one questions the need of reform, he cannot, I think, be a resident in this land. Upon this subject, however, I should like to add one word of caution. Reform we must, and reform we shall. But the main improvement that is required, which is a moral improvement, cannot come all in a gallop. Men are, on

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the whole, what their surroundings make them, and men do what their opportunities permit. It is not all in a moment that you can take one section of a society and create in it a different standard from that which prevails in another, even if you pay the former to look after the morals of the latter. We shall, I hope, get a better and a purer police as a consequence of the changes that we shall introduce, but we shall not straightway found a new Jerusalem until we have educated the people who are to build and to inhabit it.

I have often before spoken of my desire to introduce a more commercial element into the management of Indian railways; and already we have made some progress in this direction. From our published Histories of Projects, from our Railway Conferences, and from our Travelling Commissions,—all initiated during the past four years,—the public, I think, know more than they used to do of our policy and aims. But I have never thought that this was enough. Railways in India have now climbed out of the cradle. They provide us with a recurring annual surplus. Before I came out here as Viceroy, I made a speech in London,[1] at which I was thought rather sanguine for saying that, while less than 21,000 miles were then open, I hoped that the total would exceed 25,000 miles in my time. It has already reached 26,500. But it is not mileage that impresses me, nor receipts. I am more concerned with up-to-date management and efficiency, and I hope that the Report of our Special Commissioner, Mr. Robertson, which is on the eve of being submitted, may give us the clue that will guide us to far-reaching reforms, intended to place Indian railways and their administration on a level with the most progressive achievements of other and more developed countries.

There is a subject long under our notice which we hope to deal with in the ensuing year. This is that of the union or separation of Judicial and Executive

[1] At a luncheon given to Lord Curzon by the Directors of the P. & O. S. N. Company on December 2, 1898. It is not reported in this volume.

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functions. If any one could stand in my shoes, and, with his ten hours' work a day, could cast a glance at that file, the best part of a foot high, with its mass of opinions from local Governments, high courts, officials, and private persons, all waiting to be read and digested, and most of them saying different things, he would probably understand how it is that everything cannot be pushed forward at the same time. But the question is of great importance, and whatever our ultimate decision may be, I should like it to be taken up and dealt with in my time.[1]

I should have been tempted to say something about Agriculture to-day—the sixth subject in my present category—were it not that I have been so ably anticipated by Sir D. Ibbetson. When he is the inspiring genius and the spokesman of a department, it seems superfluous for any one else to add a word. I can, however, supplement what he has said by tracing the logical as well as chronological sequence of our labours. First let me say what we have attempted so far to do. We have endeavoured to deal with the indebtedness of the agricultural classes by the Punjab legislation, which I before mentioned, and now by the Bundelkhund legislation, which he has defended to-day. We have laid down broad and liberal principles explaining and regulating our policy of Land Revenue assessments in India. We have created an Inspector-General of Agriculture at the head of an expert department, and we have constituted a Board of Scientific Advice. But before us lies the much bigger experiment of combined agricultural research, agricultural experiment, and agricultural education, which Sir D. Ibbetson has outlined, and which, if we can carry it through, ought to be of incalculable service to the country. If we can simultaneously train teachers, provide estate managers and agents, and foster research, we shall really have done some good in our time.

[1] This was one of the subjects left untouched owing to Lord Curzon's retirement from India before the end of his second term.

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Then behind these proposals lies a scheme which we have greatly at heart, and about which I should like to add a word—I mean the institution of Co-operative Credit Societies, or, as they are often called, Agricultural Banks. I have seen some disappointment expressed that we have not moved more quickly in this matter. If any one had studied, as I have had to do, the replies of all the local Governments and their officers on the subject, he would begin to wonder when and how we are to move at all. Of course it is easy enough to express an abstract approval of agricultural banks, to denounce everybody who does not share your views, and to rush into experiments foredoomed to failure. But that is exactly what Government does not want to do, and what the replies of its advisers would render it suicidal to do. When there are many who say that the co-operative spirit does not exist in the rural community, that it is unsuited to the conditions of Indian character and life, that the savings banks are not patronised as it is, and that the requisite capital will not be forthcoming, it is impossible to pooh-pooh all these assertions as idle fancy. But even when we get beyond them, and justify the desirability of making the experiment on a moderate and cautious scale, we are still confronted with all manner of questions. Is the experiment to be made with village or urban societies, or with both, and which first? Should Government aid these societies, and if so, to what extent and for how long? What restrictions should be placed upon them, and should loans be permitted for unproductive as well as productive expenditure? What privileges or concessions should be granted to them by Government, and what restrictions should be imposed? All these are questions which have called for a good deal of thinking over before they could be answered. All the same, I think that we are beginning to see our way. Certain broad principles seem to stand out crisp and clear. The difference between rural organisation in one part of India and another is so great that no one rule can apply to all.

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Different systems will have to be tried in different places. The one common feature must be simplicity. We must go slowly and surely, learning as we proceed. The people must be the final workers out of their own salvation, but we, *i.e.* Government, may give them such assistance as we properly can. We can bestow certain advantages, and we can remove certain disabilities; but, in the main, the venture must depend on the people themselves. These are the broad general outlines that emerge from our study, and I believe that Sir D. Ibbetson is prepared to advise us to legislate in this direction. I hope, therefore, that the matter may not be much longer delayed.[1]

I have upon another occasion spoken of projects that we have before us for improving and strengthening the position of Commerce in this country. Sir E. Law is a firm friend of these interests, and I share his desire to do what we can. I wish that we had been in a position to-day to say something about the Commercial Bureau which excites so much interest. But we have not as yet had a reply from the India Office. Connected with Commerce is the question of a reduction in internal Telegraphic rates. Sir E. Law has made a few observations on this point. The matter has been under our study for many months. *Prima facie* we should all like to increase the facilities enjoyed by the public, and I hope we may discover some means of doing so; but the question is not free from difficulty or financial risk.

Lastly, I come to the heading of Finance, and by finance I do not mean those calculations which must inevitably lurk in the background of all the proposals that I have hitherto discussed, but the principles that regulate our control and dispensation of the Indian revenues. Here I will mention two matters only that have always seemed to me matters of the deepest importance, and of which I should like, if it were possible, to advance the solution in my time. The first of these

[1] It took shape in the Co-operative Credit Societies Bill, which was passed into law in March 1904. *Vide* p. 193.

is the constitution and employment of the present so-called Famine Insurance Fund. I have never been quite satisfied as to the position of this feature in our accounts, and for two years we have been in correspondence with the Secretary of State on the matter. There is a good deal to be said upon both sides, and for the present we have not been able to arrive at a solution.[1] The second question is that of the Provincial Settlements, which, though they have had their obvious merits, have not been unattended with friction and with drawbacks in operation. My colleagues and I would greatly like, if we can, to invest these agreements between the supreme and the local Governments with a more permament character, that would stimulate the energies of local Governments and give them a greater interest in economy and good administration, while retaining for the Imperial Government the necessary measure of ultimate control. I do not know whether we shall be successful in these efforts; but we are about, with the assent of the Secretary of State, to take them in hand.[2]

I have now covered the entire field of administrative work that appears to me to lie before the Government of India in the immediate future. We may, to use a slang phrase, be thought by some to have bitten off more than we can chew. We may be diverted from our laborious meal by other and unforeseen preoccupations. I hope myself that neither apprehension will turn out to be genuine. The work that I have indicated is waiting to be done, and ought most certainly to be attempted. Whatever of time and energy remains to me I hope to devote to the prosecution of the task, and my dearest ambition is to see it carried safely through.

[Here followed the paragraphs about Foreign Affairs, which are printed under that heading.]

[1] The proposals put forward by the Viceroy in this connection, and three times supported by the unanimous voice of his Council, were refused by the Secretary of State.

[2] These efforts culminated in the new type of permanent or quasi-permanent Provincial Agreements, which were introduced in the ensuing year, and explained by Lord Curzon in his Budget Speech of March 30, 1904. *Vide* p. 146.

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SIXTH BUDGET SPEECH (LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AT CALCUTTA)

March 30, 1904

I do not propose to say much about the figures of the Budget. They speak for themselves. Hon. members have found no complaint to make, and nearly every speech to which we have listened has been in the nature of a beatitude. In my remarks I propose to look rather at the Budget as the culminating point for the moment in an era of recuperation which has now been proceeding for five years almost without a halt, and to contrast the position which we occupy to-day with that which was presented when I came to India at the end of 1898. My predecessor had to fight—and he fought with great courage and cool-headedness—against many drawbacks, famine, pestilence, earthquake, and war. Recurrent deficits appeared in the Budget. The exchange value of the rupee touched its lowest point, only a fraction over 1s. in 1895. In the summer of 1898 it was proposed to borrow 20 millions sterling in order to strengthen exchange. The year 1898-99 witnessed the turn of the tide and the first of a series of surpluses that have never since failed us. But even then exchange was an uncertain quantity, and we had no guarantee that the pendulum would not swing back. It was in the summer of 1899 that Sir Henry Fowler's Committee reported, and in September of that year we introduced and passed the legislation at Simla which gave us a gold standard in India, and started our present currency system on its way. Nearly five years have gone by, and we have almost forgotten the anxieties of those days. We have secured practical fixity of exchange at the rate of 16d. to the rupee. The lowest point touched has been 1s. $3\frac{7}{32}$d. in July 1901, and the highest 1s. $4\frac{5}{16}$d. in January 1900; but the ordinary fluctuations have been within much

narrower limits. This has been the first and most beneficial result of the change. Hon. members will recollect that another of the Committee's proposals was the creation of a Gold Reserve Fund from the profits of Indian coinage. It was reserved for Sir E. Law to put that plan into execution in 1900. We began with 3 millions in the first year; but we now have nearly 6½ millions invested in Consols and other gold securities in England, and bringing in an interest of £166,000 per annum. Before many years have passed I anticipate that this reserve will have reached the figure of 10 millions sterling,[1] which will be sufficient for our purpose, and will give us a permanent guarantee for stability of exchange. The fund is valuable to my mind from another point of view. Constituted as it is from the profits on coinage, it points to a steadily growing demand for currency, and therefore to an increase in the industrial activity and prosperity of the country. While I am speaking of our reserves, I must also not lose sight of our Currency Reserve, which, though it exists for a different purpose, viz. to secure the stability of our note circulation, and to provide for a demand for gold as distinguished from rupees, is yet an important buttress to our financial position. This fund now contains upwards of 10½ millions sterling in gold.

But it is in my power to point to other and more direct symptoms of progress in a comparison of our present Budget with its predecessors. Our revenue has risen from 68½ millions in 1899 to 83 millions in 1904, and this notwithstanding one very severe year of famine and in parts of India two years, as well as the continued prevalence of plague. Nevertheless, whatever head of revenue you examine you will find the same marks of growth. The only heads under which there is a decrease in the present year are those of Salt and Assessed Taxes, and that only because of

[1] It contained 8¾ millions sterling when Lord Curzon left India in November 1905.

our reduction of taxation a year ago. For five years we have had a succession of surpluses, amounting to an average of 3 millions sterling per annum. Last year we gave to India the first remission of taxation that she had enjoyed for twenty years. We sacrificed thereby about £1,400,000 annually in respect of the Salt Tax and the Income Tax; but we gave to the people what in my judgment was their due, and we so arranged our remissions as to bring relief as far as possible to those classes that best deserved it. If our resources continue to expand, I should like to look forward to a day when we may proceed even farther. It would, perhaps, be too much good luck for one Viceroy to give two considerable reductions of taxation in his time. But if I am not so fortunate, then I shall hope to bequeath the opportunity to my successor.[1]

Another evidence of our improving credit has been the figures at which we have been able to issue our rupee paper loans for Public Works expenditure. In 1900 the average rate was just over 94 rupees; last year it was a fraction over 98 rupees 1 anna. The Bank rate has never exceeded 8 per cent, nor fallen below 3 per cent. During the past year it has not exceeded 7 per cent.

During the quinquennium our total debt, both here and in England, has been increased by less than 16 millions. But against this must be set an expenditure on capital account of nearly 20 millions on Railways and $2\frac{3}{4}$ millions on Irrigation, the increased revenue from which more than repays the interest on the capital outlay. As regards Railways and Irrigation, let me analyse a little more closely. At the end of this year 27,150 miles of railroad will be open, or an increase of 4650 miles in my time—the largest total that has yet been recorded. But a more important feature still is that having for the first time obtained a surplus from our railways in 1899-1900—a modest bantling of £76,000—our net railway revenue has now risen to

[1] *Vide* p. 162. Lord Curzon bequeathed it to himself.

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£855,000—a most healthy adult—or an average surplus of £466,000 in each of the five years.

In the same period the average net revenue from Irrigation has been £823,000. Thus on the two accounts we obtain an annual surplus of 1¼ millions sterling. In fact, we have now secured the whole of our Indian railways and canals for nothing, and instead of costing us money they have become a steady source of income to the State. These figures might, I think, encourage us to borrow with even greater confidence in the future.

From a calculation that has been made for me I further learn that the net imports of gold and silver into India, which between the years 1894-1899 amounted to 25 millions sterling, have risen to over 46 millions sterling in the succeeding five years. I do not say that I regard this influx of the precious metals with unqualified satisfaction. For I often wonder what becomes of it all, how much of it goes below the ground, and how much is left above, and what proportion is reproductive. But when I read the familiar jeremiads about the alleged drain of capital away from India, it is at least open to me to remark that there is also a great deal coming in, and the drain always seems to me to resemble a flow at one end of a pipe which is perpetually being replenished at the other. Again, I do not see how it is impossible to overlook the enormous increase in Savings Banks deposits in India. In India these have risen from less than 1 million sterling in 1870 to over 7 millions sterling in 1903, out of which $\frac{9}{10}$ths are owned by natives. Within the same period the private deposits in the Presidency, Exchange, and other private Banks, have risen from £6,600,000 to £28,500,000; and the quantity of Government paper held by natives has risen from 13¾ millions to 33½ millions sterling.[1]

[1] With this entire passage should be compared the later figures and facts contained in Lord Curzon's farewell speech to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, printed at p. 308.

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Is it not time, therefore, that instead of repeating hypothetical figures and calculations that have been exposed until exposure has become tedious, our critics should recognise the fact that India is, on the contrary, exhibiting every mark of robust vitality and prosperity? These gentlemen remind me rather of an amiable eccentric whom I knew at school, and who always put up his umbrella and insisted that it was raining when the sun shone. In my view there are few, even among the most advanced countries of the world, that would not welcome an economic position as sound as that which India now enjoys. There are, no doubt, calls coming upon us, urgent, incessant, and irresistible; for, as I shall presently show, we are raising the administrative standard all round; and administrative efficiency is merely another word for financial outlay. But so far as I can forecast, we shall be able to meet these calls without any addition to the burdens of the people; and if I were to leave India to-morrow, I should yet be proud of the good fortune that had enabled me to indulge in the brief analysis of our financial position which I have undertaken this afternoon.

There are two other items in the Budget to which I desire to refer, and they are both aspects of the same question, viz., our attitude to local Governments. One theory I hope that we have effectively killed, and that is the old idea that local Governments are stinted by the Supreme Government when money is forthcoming. Year by year we have subsidised them for the many calls, administrative and otherwise, that are made upon their purses, and there is not a Governor or a Lieutenant-Governor in India from whom I have not received frequent expressions of gratitude. In the present Budget our bounty has reached its maximum; for in addition to the 1½ crores, or 1 million sterling, which has been given to four of the local Governments to start their new settlements, and the 40 lakhs which we have supplied for education, we have given them 13½ lakhs for the increase of minor establishments, and

87 lakhs for such purposes as the Calcutta Improvement Scheme in Bengal, the Simla Improvement Scheme in the Punjab, and important public works in other provinces. Finally, I had been so much struck in my various tours by the degree to which local institutions, such as hospitals, museums, libraries, public parks, and the like, have been starved or cold-shouldered for more urgent needs, that I persuaded Sir E. Law to give a grant aggregating 22 lakhs for these purposes, carefully framed lists having been submitted to me by the various Heads of Administrations. These are just the sort of objects that ought, in my view, to profit when funds are available; for they represent the less material and more cultured aspects of the national life.

The second subject is the new Provincial Settlements. I alluded last year to the hope that we were on the eve of a noteworthy change in this respect—no less than the substitution of a permanent, or relatively permanent, settlement for the present five years' plan. The latter has existed for a quarter of a century. It was better than the system that preceded it, but it admitted of much improvement. It was not an economical plan, because it encouraged extravagance in the concluding years of each term, and it was not a satisfactory plan, because it led to a rather unseemly squabble with the Supreme Government at the end. The better method was clearly to give to local Governments a permanent instead of a temporary interest in the revenue and expenditure under their control, subject to certain broad principles in fixing the provincial assignments. This we have succeeded in doing in the cases of Madras, Bengal, the United Provinces, and Assam, and have thereby laid the foundations of a financial autonomy that, I hope, will steadily develop and will enable the local Governments in the future to undertake enterprises from which they are now debarred. I mention the matter here, both because of its intrinsic importance, and because I agree with the Lieutenant-Governor in thinking that it furnishes a conclusive

answer to those who are always accusing the Government of India of undue centralisation. I would point out that efficiency of administrative control is not centralisation, though it is often mistaken for it. Centralisation is the absorption by a central body of powers or privileges hitherto enjoyed, or capable, if created, of being exercised by subordinate bodies. I acknowledge no such tendency. We have kept local Governments up to the mark, because I do not believe in lax or sluggish control, or in the abdication of powers which have been provided for special objects. But if an occasion has anywhere arisen where it was possible to devolve or depute powers, we have gladly taken it, and these new settlements constitute, in my view, the most important step in the nature of decentralisation that has been adopted for many years, and will, I hope, be the forerunner of others in the future.

Five years ago at this table I spoke of a category of questions which I hoped to take up and press to solution in my time.[1] Two years later I indicated the progress that we had then made.[2] I have not the time, and there is no present need, to complete the review now. But a few remarks may be made distinguishing between those that have been more or less disposed of, and those that will occupy us during the forthcoming year. Of course the task would not then be complete. There is no standing still in administration, and no administrator can mark the point at which his work is done. New spirits start up as soon as old ones are laid, and the horizon lengthens out as we proceed. I think, however, that it is possible to frame a category of cases in which we have either definitely carried our object or reached such a point that continuity is assured. The first of these I desire to detach for special consideration in a few moments. It is Frontier Policy. I have already dealt with the second, and third, and fourth, namely, Currency Reform, Provincial Settlements, and Reduction of Taxation. A few days ago I was explaining what we

[1] *Vide* p. 75. [2] *Vide* p. 83.

had been able to do in respect of the preservation of antiquities and Archæological reform; and there the lines have been laid down from which no departure should now be possible. The same applies to the changes in the Leave Rules, that were designed to prevent the frequency of official transfers, and to the reduction of Reports. I have lately had conducted a special examination of every Report that reaches the Government of India from whatever quarter, and I am gratified to find that the orders about reduction have been faithfully carried out, with the result of an immense saving of work to overburdened men, and at no sacrifice of value or merit in the Reports themselves. The reduction in the Telegraphic rates to Europe, to which I pledged myself in 1899, and which brought down the charge from 4s. to 2s. 6d. a word, has been so successful that we have lately addressed the Secretary of State with a proposal for a further reduction to 2s., with a corresponding reduction in the Press rate. I do not know if we shall succeed.[1] But I think that the result of the first experiment is distinctly encouraging. We were prepared for a loss on the first year's working of £67,000. It was only £33,000. We estimated for a 10 per cent increase in the traffic. The increase amounted to 26½ per cent. On the 1st of January of the present year we carried out a further reduction in inland rates, which, I believe, has proved beneficial to all classes of the community. The figures of January show that there was an increase of 25 per cent in deferred messages alone over the corresponding month in the previous year.

Next I pass to the large category of questions connected with Education. Our Universities Bill is now the law of the land. But I should have felt that we had acted in a very one-sided and inconclusive manner had we held that Educational reform was summed up in the reconstitution of the Universities. Our recent Educational Resolution[2] crystallises the principles that result from an examination of every branch of educational

[1] The reduction was made in 1905. [2] Issued in March 1904.

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activity, and that will, we hope, inspire our educational policy in the future. It may surprise those hon. members at this table who sometimes hint at the Simla Conference of 1901, as though it had been a sort of Star Chamber that promulgated dark and sinister decrees, to learn that the results of the Simla Conference, as finally shaped after consultation with local Governments, are embodied in the recent Resolution. I observe in India that if people do not approve of a policy, they denounce it as reactionary. If they cannot disapprove of the official statement of it, they describe it as a platitude. As our Educational Resolution has had the good fortune to be so designated, I conclude that it has been found generally satisfactory. Perhaps, however, I may point out that so far from being a perfunctory statement of obvious principles, it is really the result of nearly two years' hard work. It summarises for the public information the position which we have at present reached in educational progress, and it endeavours to lay down the lines of future advance. Many important aspects of the subject, such as education in European schools, agricultural education, commercial education, industrial and technical education, examinations for Government service, as well as the entire problem of primary and secondary education in India, find a place in it. Some of these matters we have also dealt with independently. Our scheme for Industrial Schools and for State Technical Scholarships has gone to local Governments, and is before the public. I rather agree with those hon. members who were arguing here the other day, and who repeated to-day that Educational reform in India is mainly a matter of money. I think it is. We have shown this by the extra grant of 40 lakhs, or nearly £270,000 a year, that we have now made for three years running to the local Governments. These grants are in addition to the ordinary educational assignments in the Provincial Settlements. We have also, as is known, promised a contribution of 25 lakhs to the Universities. I should like, however, to go farther, and to provide for

a serious and sustained expenditure upon educational improvement extending over a long series of years.

There is another very important group of subjects to which we have given great attention. I allude to Economic Development, which may again be subdivided into Agriculture, Industries, and Commerce. Our recent Resolution on Agriculture sums up the practical steps that have been taken for the encouragement and improvement of agriculture, and for the active prosecution of scientific research. We now have our Inspector-General of Agriculture, with a staff of scientific experts; we have the new institution at Pusa springing into being, where research, the training of students, and experimental farming will be simultaneously taken in hand; we have strengthened the Provincial Agricultural Departments, reorganised the Civil Veterinary Department, so as to undertake the investigation of cattle diseases and the improvement of breeds of cattle, and created a Board of Scientific Advice to co-ordinate the work that is being done in these and all other branches of scientific research in India. We have centralised bacteriological research at Kasauli and Muktesar. Then I pass to those measures that more directly affect the economic condition of the agrarian classes. We have dealt with the system of Land Revenue Assessments in India, tracing the historical growth of the present system and its steady modifications in the interests of the land-owning or land-cultivating classes, and formulating reasonable and lenient principles for observance in the future.[1] By legislation in the United Provinces we have endeavoured to improve the relations between landlord and tenant. We have attacked the problem of the increasing indebtedness and gradual expropriation of the proprietary body from many sides, by the Land Alienation Bills in the Punjab and Bundelkhund, and by the Bill to institute Co-operative Credit Societies, which we passed in this Council last week. We have endeavoured to provide against the break up of landed

[1] The allusion is to Lord Curzon's published Resolution of January 1902.

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properties by legislation, instituting a modified system of entail in Oudh, in the Punjab, in Madras, and in Bengal. Finally, in 1902, we gave direct benefit to the cultivators by remissions of Land Revenue amounting to nearly 2 crores of rupees, while in the past five years we have advanced between 5 and 6 crores to the people for the purchase of seed and the provision of capital.

The Government of India have watched with anxious interest, and have done all in their power to develop, the Commerce and Industries of this country, some of them securely established, others struggling but hopeful, others again nascent or still in embryo. I might refer to our legislation in the interests of tea-gardens, and the institution of a tea-cess, the passing of the Mines Act, the constitution of a Mining Department, and the issue of more liberal mining rules, the countervailing sugar duties, grants for indigo research, the passing of an Electricity Act, the opening up of the Jherriah coal-fields, reductions in coal freights, the steady increase in railway rolling-stock, for which, as Sir A. Arundel has mentioned in his Memorandum, no less a sum than 3 crores, or 2 millions sterling, has been set aside. We are proposing the creation of an Imperial Customs Service.[1] We have also endeavoured to develop our trade with adjoining countries, by the Nuskhi route with Seistan, by a Commercial Mission which we are arranging to send to South-Eastern Persia,[2] and by new contracts with the British India Company for improvements in their service to the Persian Gulf. I am also hopeful that the Tibet Mission will result in an improvement of trading relations with that country. We have succeeded in obtaining greater advantages in the new contract with the P. and O. Company. We also have a proposal now before the Secretary of State to supersede the Commercial Bureau, for which we at first asked, but to which he objected, by some larger and more powerful

[1] This was being carried into effect when Lord Curzon left India.

[2] This mission, under Mr. Gleadowe-Newcomen, returned from Persia in 1905, having done excellent work. Its Report was published in 1906.

organisation, involving the creation of a new Department of the Government of India for Commerce and Industry, and the appointment of a new Member of Council for those purposes.[1] It is to me almost incredible that the Government of India should have got along for all these years with functions and duties huddled together in such haphazard fashion, and thrust upon the shoulders of over-worked Departments and harassed men. Commerce has got mixed up with Finance; Industries and Emigration have been grouped with Revenue and Agriculture. The Post Office has been under one Department, and Telegraphs under another. These are only casual illustrations. But they indicate a want of method and co-ordination in our system that is inconsistent either with business-like administration or with the progress that lies before us. If I can get this new Department created while I am at home, I shall return with greater confidence in our capacity to meet the demands of the future.

[Here followed a number of paragraphs about Frontier Policy, Foreign Policy, and Military Administration, which have been separately reproduced under those headings.]

In the forthcoming year there are many objects which I look to push forward, before I can contentedly lay down my task. Three of these are on a footing of almost equal importance. We have already done a good deal during the past few years to bring our Railway administration into closer touch both with the commercial community and with the public at large. But we have not yet reached the final stage. Mr. Robertson's Report was placed in our hands last year; and it embraced so many aspects of reform, bringing in alike the Secretary of State, the Government of India, and the Companies, and raising such large questions both of administration and finance, that we could not deal with it rashly or hurriedly. Our views went home to the Secretary of State at the close of last year, and are now

[1] This was agreed to, and the new organisation was started in 1905.

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being considered by him. They involve an entire reconstitution of our administrative machinery, and an attempt to manage our railways in future on less strictly departmental lines. The object that we have in view can only be attained by the surrender of considerable powers by existing authorities to any new authority that may be constituted; and this is not a matter that can be easily or speedily concluded. I am hopeful, however, that a decision may be given in the course of the forthcoming summer, and that this most important project may be duly launched.[1]

Irrigation is also one of the works of the coming summer. Our sympathies with an expanded irrigation programme have been sufficiently shown by the increased grants that we have given for construction in each year since I came to India. Next year they touch the unprecedented total of 1¼ crores. People sometimes talk as though practically unlimited sums could be spent upon Irrigation with little or no trouble. They could perhaps be spent, if experiments were rashly made in every direction, and if there were no objection to flinging money away. No science, however, demands for its practice more careful forethought and planning or more trained supervision. An untrained or inadequate establishment cannot suddenly begin to spend lakhs on tanks and canals. There is no analogy in this respect between irrigation and railways; for private enterprise is ready to help us with the latter, and the question is only one of terms. With irrigation the case is so different that whereas in the last two years we have given two crores to local Governments, they could only manage to spend, in 1902, 85 lakhs, and in 1903, 81 lakhs. This summer, however, we hope to address ourselves to an exhaustive examination of all the numerous projects that were worked out by the recent Irrigation Commission for the whole of India. Great expenditure will be required, and much of it will be unproductive in the technical sense of the term. But protection from drought rather

[1] The new Railway Board was started in January 1905.

than acquisition of revenue is our object, and I venture to think that we shall have it in our power to initiate a comprehensive and far-reaching policy that will do more good to the cultivating classes than any Bills that we can pass in this Council, or any remissions of taxation that the Finance member might announce in the Budget.[1]

The third question is Police Reform. I should have been glad had we been able to make public our proposals upon the Report of the Commission without delay. But the Secretary of State desires to see the views of local Governments upon them before he comes to a final decision, and this must inevitably occupy some time. No one need imagine that the matter is being burked or shelved. But it is of such supreme importance that undue haste would merely prejudice the ultimate solution.

There are two other subjects to which His Highness the Aga Khan has alluded in his excellent and patriotic speech, and which have been for some time under my consideration. The first is the contributions made by the Indian princes in the shape of Imperial Service Troops and otherwise to the cause of Imperial defence. There are anomalies and inequalities in the present system which must strike the eye of any observer; and I contemplate, when I come back to India, taking the Chiefs into consultation on the matter.[2] The second is the future of the young officers in the Imperial Cadet Corps. I hope to arrive at definite conclusions on the matter before I leave for England a month hence. In the meantime let me assure the Aga Khan that there is nothing, in my view, wild or visionary in the ideas that have occurred to him. To what degree they may be practicable I cannot at present say; but they appear to me to be eminently deserving of consideration.[3]

[1] Compare with this passage the remaining speeches printed under the heading of Irrigation in this volume.

[2] The Viceroy carried out this intention, and received their replies; but the matter had not been brought to a final issue when he left India.

[3] It was decided in 1904 that the successful candidates after the three

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There are other matters which we have in view, such as legislation for the better protection of game in India, a most difficult subject, upon which we have for long been engaged,[1] and many other items of administrative reform. I will not weary the Council with these. But as regards administrative reform in general, I should like to add a remark. When I came out to India every public body or society without exception that addressed me urged me to pursue a policy of administrative reform. Spare us, they said, adventure on the North-West Frontier, extend railways and irrigation, give us a sound currency, develop the internal resources of the country, promote educational and industrial advancement, manage plague and famine with a due regard to the feelings of the community, free the Government machinery from the many impediments to its proper working. I took these authorities at their word, and I have ever since pursued administrative reform, though not, I hope, to the exclusion of other and equally important objects, with an ardour that has never slackened. I have done so because I think that these advisers were right. Efficiency of administration is, in my view, a synonym for the contentment of the governed. It is the one means of affecting the people in their homes, and of adding, only an atom perhaps, but still an atom, to the happiness of the masses. I say in no spirit of pride, but as a statement of fact, that reform has been carried through every branch and department of the administration, that abuses have been swept away, anomalies remedied, the pace quickened, and standards raised. It has not always been a popular policy; but if I am at liberty to say so, it has been whole-hearted and sincere. And yet what criticism is now more familiar to me than that no one in India desires administrative reform at all, and that the only benefactor of the people is he who gives them

years' course should receive special Commissions in the Indian Army, and the first three were granted in 1905.

[1] *Vide* vol. ii. p. 160. A Bill was being prepared when Lord Curzon left India.

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political concessions? Those are not my views. I sympathise most deeply with the aspirations of the Indians towards greater national unity, and with their desire to play a part in the public life of the country. But I do not think that the salvation of India is to be sought on the field of politics at the present stage of her development, and it is not my conception of statesmanship to earn a cheap applause by offering so-called boons for which the country is not ready, and for which my successors, and not I, would have to pay the price. The country and its educated classes are, in my view, making a steady advance on the path of intellectual and moral progress, and they have every reason to be proud of what they have achieved. That progress will be continued so long as they listen to the wise voices among their own leaders; but it will be imperilled and thrown back if it is associated with a perpetual clamour for constitutional change, and with an unreasoning abuse of those who do not grant it.

The charge, however, that we give an inadequate representation to the ability of the country in our Government is one that, though frequently repeated, has always seemed to me so fallacious that I have made a special attempt to analyse it, and I will conclude my speech by presenting to this Council the results of an investigation which I have had conducted into every branch of the administration, and which is so interesting, and I think to many people will be so surprising in its results, that I propose to publish it on behalf of Government.[1]

Let me begin by stating what I conceive to be the general principles that regulate the situation. They are two in number. The first is that the highest ranks of civil employment in India, those in the Imperial Civil Service, though open to such Indians as can proceed to England and pass the requisite tests, must, nevertheless, as a general rule, be held by Englishmen, for the reason that they possess, partly by heredity, partly by up-

[1] This was done in the form of a Government Resolution, issued in June 1904.

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bringing, and partly by education, the knowledge of the principles of Government, the habits of mind, and the vigour of character, which are essential for the task, and that, the rule of India being a British rule, and any other rule being in the circumstances of the case impossible, the tone and standard should be set by those who have created and are responsible for it. The second principle is that outside this *corps d'elite* we shall, as far as possible and as the improving standards of education and morals permit, employ the inhabitants of the country, both because our general policy is to restrict rather than to extend European agency, and because it is desirable to enlist the best native intelligence and character in the service of the State.[1] This principle is qualified only by the fact that in certain special departments, where scientific or technical knowledge is required, or where there is a call for the exercise of particular responsibility, it is necessary to maintain a strong European admixture, and sometimes even a European preponderance.

Now let me show how these principles are vindicated in practice. I will not recapitulate the history of the case, or conduct the Council through the successive stages of Government policy and pronouncement from the Act of 1833 down to the present day. I will give—what is much more eloquent—the concrete figures and proportions. They have been compiled for a period of 36 years, the figures not being available before 1867.

In 1867 the total number of Government posts in India with a salary above Rs. 75, now equivalent to £5 a month, was 13,431. It is now 28,278. In 1867 Europeans and Eurasians held 55 per cent of the total; they now hold 42. Hindus held 38 per cent; they now hold 50. Mohammedans held 7 per cent; they now hold 8. Further, while the total number of Government appointments has thus increased by 110 per cent, the figures show that the number of posts held by Hindus has increased by 179 per cent, by Mohammedans 129 per cent, by Eurasians 106 per cent, and by Europeans

[1] *Vide* p. 244; vol. ii. p. 229.

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only 36 per cent. In the proportion of total posts Indians have gained 13 per cent, Europeans and Eurasians together have lost 13 per cent, and 12 per cent of this loss has been European.

Next let me give the results of an examination by grades. More than half of the appointments in India are and always have been posts on less than Rs. 200 a month. The European element in these was always small, and is now less than 10 per cent. Of posts on Rs. 200 to Rs. 300, the native proportion has risen from 51 per cent to 60 per cent; from Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 from 23 per cent to 43 per cent; from Rs. 400 to Rs. 500 from 21 per cent to 40 per cent; from Rs. 500 to Rs. 600 from 9 per cent to 25 per cent; from Rs. 600 to Rs. 700 from 15 per cent to 27 per cent; from Rs. 700 to Rs. 800 from 5 per cent to 13 per cent. Thus in no single grade has the proportion of Europeans increased, while the native increase has been continuous and striking, and has been larger in the higher grades than in the lower. The Rs. 800 line may be said to mark the limit of the Provincial Service. Between Rs. 800 and Rs. 1000 there were, in 1867, 4 natives in Government employ; there are now 93. Posts on Rs. 1000 and over may be regarded as superior. In 1867, out of a total of 648 such appointments 12 were filled by natives, all Hindus, or a percentage of 2. In 1903, out of 1370 such appointments 71 were filled by Hindus and 21 by Mohammedans; the native percentage being, therefore, 7.

If I take the standard of pay, I find that the aggregate pay of the total number of posts has risen by 91 per cent since 1867; but in the case of the aggregate pay drawn by Europeans and Eurasians the increase is only 6 per cent, while for natives of India it is 191 per cent, and for Hindus 204 per cent. The average pay of the total number of posts has fallen by Rs. 31, or 9 per cent, since 1867. But the average drawn by natives has risen from Rs. 173 to Rs. 188, or a rise of 7 per cent, while that drawn by Europeans and Eurasians has fallen by Rs. 2, or 4 per cent.

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Whatever standard, therefore, we apply, whether it be number of posts, proportion of posts, or averages of pay, the results are the same. There has been a progressive increase in native employment and a progressive decline in European employment, showing how honestly and faithfully the British Government has fulfilled its pledges, and how hollow is the charge which we so often hear of a ban of exclusion against the children of the soil.

In the figures which will be published will be contained the calculations of each decade from 1867 to the present day, so that the movement may be traced stage by stage, and of each province and each department. Summarising the totals, I find, as might be expected, and as I have said, that of the 1370 Government servants drawing salaries higher than Rs. 1000 a month, or £800 a year, 1263 are Europeans; of the remainder 15 are Eurasians, and 92 natives. But if I take the ranks below Rs. 1000 a month and between that total and Rs. 75 a month, *i.e.* from £60 to £800 a year, then I find that, out of a total of 26,908 Government servants, only 5205 are Europeans, while of the remainder 5420 are Eurasians, and the balance, or 16,283, is native.

It therefore appears that the British Empire employs less than 6500 of its own countrymen, whether brought from abroad or recruited in this country, to rule over 230 millions of people; but that for the same purpose it employs 21,800 of the inhabitants of the country itself. If we went below Rs. 75 a month the disproportion would, of course, be overwhelming. Will any one tell me, in the face of these figures, that our administration is unduly favourable to the European or grudging to the native element? I hold, on the contrary, that it is characterised by a liberality unexampled in the world. You may search through history, and since the days of the Roman Empire you will find no such trust. I have endeavoured to procure from Foreign Governments the corresponding figures for their foreign possessions—the

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Russians in Central Asia, the Dutch in Java, the French in Algeria, in Cochin China, and Tongking. I have not, unfortunately, been successful. But I have visited the majority of those countries, and have seen what there prevails; and if any one thinks that they show proportions even remotely comparable with those which I have quoted, I can assure him that he is gravely mistaken. For my own part, I think that the progressive growth of confidence that is revealed by the tables which I have quoted is honourable to the British Government and honourable to the people of this country. It reveals a European system of Government entrusted largely to non-European hands: what is called a subject country, though I dislike the phrase, administered far less by the conquering power than by its own sons; and beyond all it testifies to a steady growth of loyalty and integrity on the one part, and of willing recognition of these virtues on the other, which is rich with hope for the future.

I will now bring these remarks to a close. The Government of India in my time has been involved in many controversies, and has had to bear the brunt of much attack. Perhaps when the smoke of battle has blown aside it may be found that from this period of stress and labour has emerged an India better equipped to face the many problems which confront her, stronger and better guarded on her frontiers, with her agriculture, her industries, her commerce, her education, her irrigation, her railways, her army, and her police brought up to a higher state of efficiency, with every section of her administrative machinery in better repair, with her credit re-established, her currency restored, the material prosperity of her people enhanced, and their loyalty strengthened. We shall not deserve the main credit, because we have profited by the efforts of those who have preceded us. But perhaps we may be allowed our share; and may feel that we have not toiled, and sometimes endured, in vain.

SEVENTH BUDGET SPEECH (LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AT CALCUTTA)

March 29, 1905

I should like to congratulate my hon. colleague Mr. Baker upon the reception accorded to his first Budget. He has assumed charge of his important office in a year which is the culminating point up to date of the process of financial recovery that has been proceeding uninterruptedly for the past six years, and whose origin may be traced back still further to the foresight and prudence of Sir D. Barbour and Lord Lansdowne six years earlier.[1] I do not mean to say that a point has been reached from which we shall now decline. There is not, so far as I can see, the slightest ground for anticipating any such consequence. But the closer budgeting that has been employed in drawing up the estimates of revenue and expenditure for next year, the narrower margins that have been left, and the heavy and increasing calls that we have accepted for ensuing years in carrying out our great measures of administrative reform and military reorganisation, render it unlikely that my hon. friend will always be able to count upon similar surpluses, even if an unlucky change of wind does not drive him sooner or later into the financial doldrums.

Of course the most satisfactory feature of the Budget has been that Mr. Baker has been able at one and the same time to provide the means for a great increase in administrative outlay and for a reduction in the burdens of the people. That is the dream of the fortunate financier, which all cherish but few realise. I remember saying in the Budget debate a year ago that it would perhaps be too much good luck for one Viceroy to give two considerable reductions of taxation in his time; but that if I were not so fortunate I should hope to bequeath

[1] In closing the Mints to the free coinage of silver in 1893.

the opportunity to my successor.[1] That successor has turned out to be myself: and I suppose that I may therefore congratulate myself, if not on my forecast, at least upon my good fortune. But in these remarks I must not be taken to assume the smallest credit for the surpluses that have been obtained year after year for the past six years. The head of the Government may, by the manner in which he conducts the affairs of the country at large and its foreign affairs in particular, exercise a considerable influence upon the scale of expenditure during his term of office. But apart from the general sense of confidence present in or absent from his administration, he cannot exercise much effect upon the revenue. Whether the price of opium per chest goes up or down, whether the railway returns are more or less, whether the customs revenue expands or recedes, whether the land revenue is stationary or shrinks, depends in the main upon circumstances outside of his control. I always think it therefore a very absurd thing to give credit to any individual for what is really the result of outside circumstances; and if any speaker at a public meeting who wished to denounce the head of the Government were to do so by denying him all credit for the receipts of his Finance Minister, I should be the first to vote for the motion.

But, after all, surpluses are surpluses, and the case is not the same when it comes to disposing of them. I cannot therefore go so far as to agree with the critic who wrote the other day—"Unfortunately for our country its revenues have somehow or other been leaving surpluses year after year since the beginning of His Excellency's rule." I wonder whether this critic would have preferred a succession of annual deficits. One can imagine what he would have said of the Viceroy in such a case. It is in the disposal of surpluses that, in my opinion, the responsibility of the head of the Government does most definitely come in. It is one of the first of his functions, in consultation with the

[1] *Vide* p. 143.

Finance Minister and his colleagues, to consider the fair and equal distribution of the bounty which good fortune may have placed in their hands. I have found no more pleasing duty than this during the past six years: and in acting as we have done, it is no vain boast to say that we have proceeded throughout upon definite principles and on what seemed to us to be logical lines. My view has always been that as the revenue of this country comes in the main from the people of the country, it is to the people that the disposable surplus, if there be one, should return. And who are the people of whom I speak? They are the patient, humble millions, toiling at the well and at the plough, knowing little of budgets, but very painfully aware of the narrow margin between sufficiency and indigence. It is to them that my heart goes out. They are the real backbone of our economic prosperity. They give us nearly 20 millions sterling per annum in land revenue alone, or about one-fourth of our entire receipts.

And alongside of them are the artisan, the petty trader, the small shopkeeper, the minor official, the professional man of humble means,—numerically much smaller than the cultivating classes, but representing different and very important sections of the population —all relatively poor, and all entitled to some return when the State has the wherewithal to give. Hon. members can scarcely realise how anxiously year by year we have considered the claims of all these classes and persons, and have endeavoured to apportion the relief equitably between them. A sufficient illustration may perhaps be found in the present Budget. What is the tax that touches all classes, down to the very humblest? It is the Salt Tax—and therefore we have brought it down to the lowest figure that it has reached since the Mutiny, certain that we have long passed the point at which middlemen can absorb the reduction, and that it must now filter down to the poorest strata of society. We thereby sacrifice nearly 1½ millions sterling

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per annum in addition to the million sterling per annum that we surrendered when first we reduced the tax two years ago. A gift of 2½ millions a year is one that, even with a population of this enormous size, is not to be despised. Then if we go on to ask what are the administrative needs that most affect the lower orders of the people in India, will not the reply at once be forthcoming—a purer, better paid, and more efficient police, superior opportunities for lifting themselves in the world by education, both in the rural and urban districts, the application of modern science and discovery to the one great staple industry by which the vast majority of them live, namely, agriculture, and provision for all those local needs in the shape of communications, sanitation, hygiene, etc., which mean the difference between comfort and destitution, health and disease, contentment and suffering, to millions of our fellow-citizens? And if for these purposes we have surrendered on the present occasion more than another million sterling per annum, will any one either grudge the existence of the surplus to start with, or the manner in which we have disposed of it? I daresay that there are other forms of relief which others would have preferred. In previous years we have benefited some of the classes who have now been left out. Who knows but that Mr. Baker may have a good turn to do to others some day later on? Speaking generally, however, my impression, surveying the entire field of Indian Taxation as I draw near to the end of my time, is that though there may be other taxes which we should like to lighten, and which certain classes of the community would perhaps like to see lightened still more, there is no tax at present imposed in India which can fairly be called burdensome or oppressive, either because it takes out of a class more than they can reasonably pay, or because it cripples a trade or an industry. I think that there are very few even among the most advanced countries in the world of which such a statement could be made with equal truth.

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Perhaps, however, as I have alluded to the present year as the culminating point in an era of financial progress, and as I have been discussing the means of remitting to the people the surplus product of their own industry, I may take the opportunity of pointing out to the Council what is the full measure of financial relief that the Government of India has been fortunate enough to afford to the taxpayer, since the period of surpluses began with the first Budget that I heard expounded at this table in 1899. The bounty of one year is apt to be swept out of sight by that of another, and totals are hardly realised until they are put before us in the naked reality of figures. I would divide the benefactions which have been made since 1899 under the following heads; and of course I only include in them those measures of relief which have been given outside of the ordinary expenditure of Government, and out of the surpluses which we have obtained.

In Remission of Taxation we shall have given in the seven years, including the financial year for which we are now providing, a total sum of $7\frac{3}{4}$ crores, or over 5 millions sterling. In special remissions of land revenue, and of interest and capital of loans, in both cases in connection with famine, we shall have given over 3 crores, or 2 millions sterling. For increased expenditure upon education, quite apart from the ordinary Imperial and Provincial grants, we shall have given over 2 crores, or £1,400,000. In grants for expenditure on purposes of local administrative amelioration, such as roads, bridges, water-supply, hospitals and dispensaries, sanitation, etc., we shall have given over $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores, or 3 millions sterling. Minor grants for special purposes, such as the 50 lakhs which are still waiting to be spent on the scheme for improving the congested parts of this great city—a scheme which in broad outlines has been sanctioned by the Secretary of State—amount to nearly $1\frac{1}{4}$ crores, or £800,000. The total sum, part of it non-recurring, but the greater part of it to be continued year by year, that has been given back

in my time to the people of India in the form of relief of taxation and other benefactions, amounts to over 19½ crores, or 13 millions sterling. I present these figures to hon. members as indications of the finance of what we sometimes hear described—though the remark does not appear to find an echo within this Chamber—as a reactionary régime. I am willing to let the figures speak for themselves. But there is a famous passage in a speech that was delivered in the House of Commons in 1858, that might be quoted also—"Where was there a bad Government whose finances were in good order? Where was there a really good Government whose finances were in bad order? Is there a better test in the long run of the condition of a people and the merits of a Government than the state of its finances?" That speech was delivered with direct reference to the Government of India, and the speaker was John Bright.

In my speeches in these Budget debates I have been in the habit from year to year of indulging in what in the phraseology of trade is called stock-taking, and of taking the public into the confidence of Government as to the administrative responsibilities which we had assumed or hoped to carry out. In my earlier years these remarks had necessarily to be couched in the future tense, and many were the criticisms that were then passed upon abortive inquiries and over-ambitious programmes. We do not hear so much of these now. Next year, if I am spared till then, will be my last Budget debate, and it will then perhaps fall to me to review the entire field of work and to show where we have achieved our purpose, and where we have failed. I remember writing to the Prime Minister who appointed me that seven years would be required for the task unless it proved too much for the labourer's strength. I have sometimes wondered whether the onlookers ever weigh the latter consideration. We all look at the progress of the cart, and observe with shrill cries whether it is sticking in the ruts or getting on. But few spare a thought for the horse until perhaps it staggers and

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drops between the shafts, and then—why then—another animal is brought to take its place.

The first twelve reforms which I foreshadowed in 1899 are, I am glad to say, now accomplished;[1] the next twelve have been carried also;[2] and in the remaining year I hope we may carry to completion the third dozen also.[3] When I speak of accomplishment and completion, I do not of course mean to suggest that there is, or can be, any finality in administrative work. It goes on like the seasons; and from each oak as it is planted fresh acorns fall. But there, after all, is the tree, a living and sprouting stem, a unit in the forest to be reckoned up, and perhaps also to gain in value as the time goes on. For instance, an institution like the North-West Frontier Province, which has admirably answered its purpose and has so far falsified all the predictions of its enemies, is a realised fact which no one is in the least degree likely to change, and which might give food for reflection to some who denounce the shifting of provincial boundaries as though it were a crime and an evil, instead of being, as it is capable of being, if wisely and opportunely carried out, a very considerable blessing.

I have no more to say about the accomplished reforms on the present occasion, and even in what I have said I hope that no trace of false exultation has crept in.

[1] The list has been given on p. 83.

[2] They were the creation of Commerce and Industry Department, and other measures of commercial and industrial development, Land Revenue policy, Reduction of Taxation, institution of Permanent Provincial Settlements, Agricultural Banks, Agricultural Department and Institutes, Commemoration of Historic Buildings and Sites, foundation of Imperial Library, Reform of Chiefs' Colleges and creation of Imperial Cadet Corps, Mining Acts and Rules, new Famine Codes and Rules, Prevention of Calcutta Smoke Nuisance.

[3] They were the Administrative Sub-Division of Bengal, Excise Reform, creation of Imperial Customs Service, Reorganisation of Survey Department and new Topographical Survey of India, extension of Imperial Service Movement, Game Law, Technical Education Scheme, Reorganisation of Political Department, Calcutta Improvement Scheme, European Nursing Service, policy of Tree-Planting, encouragement of Inland Navigation.

Reforms in India may sometimes require an external impulse to start them. But they are the work of hundreds of agencies, some important and others obscure: and well do I know that nothing could be achieved, were it not for the co-operation of colleagues, to work with whom has been a six years' delight, for the wise counsel and cheerful industry of hundreds of faithful fellow-workers in all parts of the country, as well also—and I gladly make the admission—as for the sometimes embarrassing, but often stimulating, influence of public opinion.

To-day I propose to confine my attention to such items of our programme as have been pushed several stages further towards completion during the past twelve months, and which, I hope, will be finally and firmly grounded before the year is over.

Hon. members will recollect that in the year 1899-1900 we had the last great Indian famine. That visitation must have left an indelible impression upon every one who was brought into close contact with it, whether in relation to its effect upon the physical condition and sufferings of the people, or to the economic position of the country as a whole. I have often stated my conviction that it will not be the last Indian famine. We may compete and struggle with Nature, we may prepare for her worst assaults, and we may reduce their violence when delivered. Some day perhaps, when our railway system has overspread the entire Indian continent, when water storage and irrigation are even further developed, when we have raised the general level of social comfort and prosperity, and when advancing civilisation has diffused the lessons of thrift in domestic expenditure and greater self-reliance and self-control, we shall obtain the mastery. But that will not be yet. In the meantime the duty of Government has been to profit to the full by the lessons of the latest calamity, and to take such precautionary steps over the whole field of possible action as to prepare ourselves to combat the next. It was for this purpose that we appointed the Famine

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Commission under that most expert of administrators, Sir A. MacDonnell, in 1901. Nearly four years have elapsed since then, and the general public has perhaps almost forgotten the fact. But the intervening period has not been spent in idleness. There is no branch of the subject, of famine relief, famine administration, and still more famine prevention, which has not been diligently ransacked and explored, and there is no portion of the recommendations submitted to us by the able Chairman and his lieutenants which has not been discussed with local Governments and been already made, or if not is about to be made, the subject of definite orders. Instructions were first issued explaining the principles of famine relief as deduced from the experiences of the latest famine and the findings of the Commission. Then came a revision of the existing Famine Codes in each Province—for the conditions and the practice vary to a considerable extent. This has been a work of great labour. It is now all but complete. But the value of these revised and co-ordinated Codes will only be seen when the next struggle comes. Then they will be found to provide the armament with which each local Government in India will fight the battle.

The next stage was when the Irrigation Commission investigated the existing programmes of relief works throughout India, and submitted recommendations for their improvement and maintenance. These also are in course of being carried out, and special establishments have been sanctioned for the purpose.

Then there was a group of separate recommendations made by the Famine Commission which they included under the head Protective in the final part of their Report. These were in some respects the most important of all, for they related to broad measures of State policy demanding either executive or legislative action on the part of the Supreme Government. I must say a few words about some of these. One of them, the relief of agricultural indebtedness in the Bombay Presidency, still remains to be dealt with. A

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second, namely, the degree and nature of Government aid by means of loans to agriculturists, has also been treated by the Irrigation Commission, and is about to form the subject of a communication to the local Governments, in which suggestions are made for rendering the present system more simple, liberal, and elastic. A third, namely, Agricultural Development, has been made the subject of a separate speech by Sir D. Ibbetson this afternoon. Good fortune has presented us simultaneously with certain advantages for taking up this too long neglected branch of our duties in the last few years. Firstly, we have had the funds, which our predecessors had not; and hon. members have noted with particular approval the special grant of twenty lakhs which we have given for the purpose in the present Budget, and which is only the precursor, as we hope, of larger sums to follow. Then we have had for the last five years a Finance Minister in Sir E. Law who took the warmest interest in agricultural development, and I believe derived more sincere pleasure from a successful agricultural experiment than he did from the yield of any impost. And finally, we have had in the hon. member for the Revenue and Agricultural Department[1] a perfect master of his subject, who to profound knowledge of the cultivating classes has added both a warm appreciation of their needs and a statesmanlike grasp of large ideas. The stone which I am to lay at Pusa in two days' time, will, I hope, be the foundation-stone not only of a fabric worthy of its object, but also of a policy of agricultural development henceforward to be pursued systematically, in good years and bad years alike, by the Government of India; so that a time may one day arrive when people will say that India is looking after her greatest living industry as well, let us say, as she is now looking after her greatest inherited treasure, viz. her ancient monuments.

There are two other objects which were recommended by the Famine Commission. The first of these was the

[1] Sir D. Ibbetson.

institution of Co-operative Credit Societies, sometimes less correctly styled Agricultural Banks. Several hon. members now at this table will remember our legislation of last year, by which we provided for the foundation of such societies. There was no remark more frequently made in the course of the discussion or more obvious in its truism than that any steps in this direction must be slow and experimental, and that quick returns or striking results could not be expected. In many parts the spirit of co-operation has to be created before a co-operative institution can be built upon it. There is also a great deal of elementary preaching, or what an English statesman once called spadework, to be done before substantial results can be expected. But we have not been idle during the year. Specially selected officers have been appointed as Registrars of Co-operative Societies in the six main provinces, and they are now engaged in spreading a knowledge of the principles among the cultivating classes. The various concessions made by the Government of India in order to lend encouragement—concessions in respect of income-tax, stamp duty, registration fees, and Government loans, have all been notified and are in operation. Three provinces have framed their Rules under the Act, in four provinces societies have already begun to be registered, Madras and Punjab having taken the lead. In addition to these is a much larger number of societies started, but not yet actually on the register. Here the United Provinces, which initiated the experiment in Sir A. MacDonnell's time, and which now possesses 150 societies, are to the fore. Even in such distant provinces as Assam and Burma, we hear of great interest being displayed and of applications being received. The statistical result is too immature to admit of quotation. But I have said enough to show that Government, having planted their seed, do not mean to let it perish from want of nurture. None of us can say whether it will develop into a healthy plant. But every chance shall be given to it.

The next matter to which I referred is one in which I have taken the keenest interest during my time in India, since it touches the marrowbone of that agricultural class of which I was speaking a little while back. I mean elasticity in Land Revenue collection, and greater liberality in suspension and remission of the fixed demand in times of distress, whether local or widespread. The Famine Commission dealt with this; and we also laid it down among the principles to be adopted as accepted canons of Government in our Land Revenue Resolution of January 1902. But something more was required than the mere statement of an orthodox principle: and we have since been engaged, in consultation with the Secretary of State and the local Governments, in elaborating its operation—with results that will shortly be published. Already a fluctuating assessment, *i.e.* a demand that is capable of being varied from year to year, is accepted in practice by most local Governments, and is applied to precarious tracts. What I am now referring to is elasticity in collection, *i.e.* an allowance for exceptionally bad seasons by the suspension or remission of payments due. This is an act of compassion on the part of the State, but it is compassion in a form little distinguishable from justice; for it relates to cases and seasons in which the cultivator cannot pay his fixed demand, because the crops which he has reaped barely suffice for his own sustenance, and where, if he is called upon to pay it, he can only do so by plunging deeper into debt. In such a case rigidity of collection is not only a hardship but an injustice. It is to avoid such consequences, and at the same time to escape the opposite extreme of laxity in collection and the subsequent demoralisation of the people, that we are about to lay down the principles underlying this method of relief.[1]

[Here followed a statement about Irrigation, which is printed under that heading.]

[1] This was done by a Government Resolution in April 1905.

There are a few other subjects to which I must allude. The presence of the Hon. Mr. Hewett at this table and the speech which he has delivered indicate that we have in the past year obtained that which has for a long time been the cherished aspiration of the mercantile community, viz. a separate Department and Minister of Commerce and Industry. Six years ago I should have said that this was impossible; two years ago I did not regard it as likely. But the facts of commercial and industrial expansion cannot be gainsaid; and as soon as the case began to be made out it was convincing in its logic and pertinence. The days are gone by when Government can dissociate itself from the encouragement of commercial enterprise. There used to be a sort of idea that business was an esoteric thing, to be conducted by a narrow clique, who were alone possessed of the oracles of wisdom, and with whom Government were hardly supposed to be on speaking terms. That was an absurd theory at any time. It is additionally absurd in a country like India, where the Government is responsible for so many forms of commercial and industrial activity, where it builds and works railroads, where it controls the sale of opium and salt, where it maintains gigantic factories, where it is engaged in undertaking the manufacture of its own cartridges and rifles and guns, and where it is the largest employer of labour in the country. And most absurd of all is it at a time when the whole air is alive with movement, rivalry, and competition, and when we desire to push our products, our manufactures, and our industries upon the attention of the world. I believe India to be merely at the beginning of its commercial expansion, and if I could revisit this Council Chamber fifty years hence, I believe I should find the Commercial Member of that day delivering an oration that would be reported throughout the East. There is only one word of appeal in which I would ask leave to indulge. I entreat my Indian friends not to regard the creation of a Department of Commerce as an agency for the promotion

of British commerce alone. They could not make a greater mistake. Indian commerce, industry, and enterprise are as vital to this country as British—nay, I think more so. They have a future as bright before them. When we have to deal with great pioneers of Indian industry, such as the Tata family, they will tell you that they receive the warmest encouragement at our hands, and for my own part I should feel far happier if for every present Indian merchant-king there were a thousand, and for every lakh of Indian rupees invested in mercantile undertakings, a crore. Our new Department and its hon. member know no distinction of race: they are concerned only with the development of the country.

It is a part of the same policy that has induced us in the past year to create the new Railway Board which is now entering upon its duties. The idea is no new one. We make no pretence to be original. It has been advocated for years, by all those who wanted greater elasticity and less officialism in our system, and from the day that I surrendered temporary charge of the Public Works Department in 1899, having become conversant for a while with its working, I meant to get the reform sooner or later. It has taken six years to carry it out. Not that the old Public Works Department stands therefore condemned. That would be a most unjust and unfair assumption. It produced a series of brilliant and famous engineers. It overspread India with a networks of railways. It eventually converted annual deficits into an assured surplus that has reached this year the magnificent figure of $2\frac{1}{4}$ millions sterling, and it has handed over to the Railway Board a splendid property which it will rest with the latter to develop on commercial principles in the future. I have sometimes seen the present administration accused of centralising tendencies. I have not time to argue that contention this afternoon. But if it be true, it is at least remarkable that it has been associated with the two greatest measures of decentralisation that have been achieved during the

last fifty years, viz. the Permanent Financial Settlements with the Provincial Governments, and the institution of the Railway Board.

There is entered in the Budget the sum of 50 lakhs for Police Reform. That is only an instalment and a beginning. We accept with slight modifications the full recommendations of the Commission, and we intend to carry out their programme. The author of the Report is seated at my right hand,[1] and I should like to take this opportunity of publicly thanking him and his colleagues for their labours. No more fearless or useful report has ever been placed before the Government of India. I would gladly have taken action upon it sooner. But a long time has been required to consult the local Governments and to satisfy the Secretary of State. And now what is it that we have in view? I think that my feelings are those of every member of the Government. We want a police force which is free from the temptation to corruption and iniquity, and which must therefore be reasonably well paid, which must be intelligent and orderly and efficient, and which will make its motto protection instead of oppression. I confess that my heart breaks within me when I see long diatribes upon how many natives are to get employment under the new system, and how many Europeans. For my own part I have never paused to count them up. The Police Force in India must be an overwhelmingly native force; and I would make it representative of the best elements in native character and native life. Equally must it have a European supervising element, and let this also be of the best. But do not let us proceed to reckon one against the other, and contend as to who loses and who gains. The sole object of all of us ought to be the good of the country and the protection of the people. It is three years since in one of these debates I announced the appointment of the Police Commission, and since Sir John Woodburn, who sat in that chair, said that it would be the most important and far-reaching of any

[1] Sir A. Fraser, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

that I had appointed in my time. I am glad that I appointed it, and am proud of its work; and when the reforms come into full operation, I am hopeful that they will be felt under every roof in this country.

At this stage I may perhaps interpolate a few remarks in reply to the concluding portions of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's speech. He seems to think that in my speech of last year,[1] and in the Resolution that followed it, were laid down new principles as regards the admission of natives of India to the public service. He referred to the Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. I am familiar with both those documents, and I also remember—which those who quote them sometimes forget—that the late Queen's words contained a qualification, not indeed modifying their generosity, but limiting their application by the necessary tests, firstly of practical expediency, and secondly of personal fitness. These were the words: "It is our will, that so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge." There is not one sentence in that memorable paragraph from which any Government of India or any Governor-General has ever either desired or attempted to recede. But the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's historical references stopped short at 1858. He altogether forgot to mention the findings of the Public Service Commission of 1887, which deliberately laid down that the service in India should in future be divided into two branches, firstly, an Imperial Service called the Civil Service, to be recruited by open competition in England only; and, secondly, a Provincial Service recruited in India, and consisting almost entirely of natives of this country. Our pronouncement of last year was a mere reaffirmation of the findings of that Commission. Even the phrase *corps d'élite*, which the hon. member seems to think originated with me, is taken from paragraph 73 of their Report. Let me further ask

[1] *Vide* p. 156.

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him more particularly to peruse paragraphs 74 and 91 of that document. He will find that nothing was said last year, either by the Government of India or by myself, which has not been laid down with even greater authority by our predecessors; and for the inference as to a change of policy which Mr. Gokhale has drawn in his speech to-day, there is, I can assure him, no foundation.

I am myself particularly immune from the suspicions to which the hon. member refers. I frequently see attributed to me personally the appointment of this or that European or Eurasian to some post or other in some part of India. The responsibility of the head of the Government of India is great, and I have never minimised it. But it is beyond human power that he should know every detail of the administration of 300,000,000 of people, and beyond reason that every subordinate act of the administration should be attributed to him alone. And really when I read of all the things that are explained by my personal intervention, while I appreciate the compliment, I am compelled to say that in quite nineteen cases out of twenty I have never even heard of them at all. If the hon. member were to go into the Departments of the Government of India he would find that I am there known as a strong partisan not of European, but of native appointments, wherever these can be made with sufficient regard to the test of personal fitness for the post. But, after all, is it not rather a vain exercise to dispute as to the exact number of places that are or are not given to this or to that class in an administration? The hon. member will never find any reluctance on the part of Government to recognise and to forward the legitimate aspirations of his countrymen. But he must not be surprised if these generous tendencies are sometimes chilled, when almost every step that we take and every appointment that is made is liable to criticism that presumes the existence of a racial bias where none exists. He has cited the Despatch of the Court of Directors with which the Act

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of 1833 was sent out to India. Let me quote to him another paragraph from that Despatch. If I were to utter it as my own, I am afraid that I should be accused of illiberal sentiments. But with the distinguished imprimatur of the authors of the Act of 1833, it may carry some weight with the hon. member:—

> We must guard against the supposition that it is chiefly by holding out means and opportunities of official distinction that we expect our Government to benefit the millions subjected to their authority. We have repeatedly expressed to you a very different sentiment. Facilities of official advancement can little affect the bulk of the people under any Government, and perhaps least under a good Government. It is not by holding out incentives to official ambition, but by repressing crime, by securing and guarding property, by creating confidence, by ensuring to industry the fruit of its labour, by protecting men in the undisturbed enjoyment of their rights, and in the unfettered exercise of their faculties, that Governments best minister to the public wealth and happiness. In effect, the free access to office is chiefly valuable where it is a part of general freedom.

With these words, which seem to me entirely wise, I will pass from the subject.

There is one duty that falls upon the Government of India to which I think that I have rarely, if ever, alluded in this Council, and that is the guardianship of Indian interests where they are liable to be impugned by external policy or influence. We resisted to the best of our ability the heavy charge of more than three-quarters of a million sterling that was imposed upon Indian revenues by the increase of pay in the British Army—a measure about which we were not consulted and with which we did not agree. We protested more successfully against the placing upon Indian revenues of the charge for the entertainment of the Indian guests at the Coronation in London. We were also successful in resisting the suggestion that India should pay £400,000 per annum for a call upon a portion of the British garrison in South Africa. We have now finally estab-

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lished the principle (disputed till a few years ago) that when we lend troops from India to fight campaigns for the Imperial Government in different parts of Asia and Africa, every rupee of the charge, from embarkation to return, shall be defrayed by the Imperial Government.

During the past few years we have been waging a similar battle in defence of the Indian emigrant in South Africa. For many years a system has prevailed under which unskilled Indian labourers have been encouraged to emigrate to the Colony of Natal for employment, chiefly in agriculture, though a few of them are engaged in coal mines. The number proceeding yearly on five-year contracts is from 5000 to 6000, and there are now some 30,000 indentured Indians in the Colony. Their wages are good, and those of them who returned to India in 1903 brought back savings to the amount of over five lakhs of rupees, while Indians of all classes settled in Natal remit to their friends in India some thirteen lakhs of rupees annually. The indentured Indian is well treated, and so far as this class is concerned, the system of emigration to Natal is advantageous to India as well as to the Colony. But there is now in Natal a considerable population of British Indians, estimated at about 50,000, who are not working under indenture, and are therefore known as "free Indians." Some of them are men who have worked out their time but have decided to settle in the country, or the descendants of such men; others are persons who have voluntarily proceeded to the Colony with the object of making a living there. Unfortunately the colonists entertain a rooted objection to this class of settlers, and have taken strong measures to discourage any increase in their numbers. Some of these measures have seemed to the Government of India to be unduly severe and inconsistent with the reasonable claims of the people of India as subjects of the British Empire; and we have lost no opportunity of urging that the restrictions imposed on free Indians should be relaxed. More

especially two years ago, when the Government of Natal sent delegates to us to discuss an arrangement under which Indian labourers should be compelled to return to India on the expiry of the term for which they were engaged, we required as an essential condition that they should make certain concessions in favour of the free Indians who were then settled, or who might desire to settle, in the Colony. We stipulated for the eventual abolition of a tax of £3 a head which had been imposed on such persons for leave to reside; for the amendment of an Act placing traders, of however old a standing, under the power of local Corporations who had absolute authority to refuse licenses to trade; for the removal of Indians from another Act, under which they were classed with barbarous races; and for the provision of a summary remedy for free Indians who might be wrongfully arrested on the ground that they were coolies under indenture or prohibited immigrants. In reply we were given to understand that there was no prospect of obtaining the consent of the local legislature to these conditions, and the negotiations were therefore dropped. The only concession that has been obtained as regards free Indians in Natal is the exemption of those who have been resident in the Colony for three consecutive years from the restrictions imposed on "prohibited immigrants" under the Immigration Restriction Act. That Act still requires immigrants (except those under indenture) to be able to write in some European language, and our endeavours to get ability to write in an Indian language accepted as a sufficient test of literacy have been unsuccessful. We have informed the Natal Government that we reserve to ourselves the fullest liberty to take at any time such measures in regard to emigration to that Colony as we may think necessary in order to secure proper treatment for our Indian settlers, and we have recently again declined to take any step towards facilitating the emigration of labourers under indenture until the Natal authorities substantially modify their attitude.

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In no other South African Colony is there in force any system of immigration of Indian labour under indenture, and the number of British Indians at present resident in the Colonies other than Natal is comparatively small. Those Colonies have, however, evinced a similar spirit of opposition to the immigration of free Indians, and we have had a considerable amount of correspondence on the subject, especially as regards the Transvaal. Soon after that country came under British administration we addressed the Secretary of State for India, and urged that the opportunity should be taken to remove the restrictions and disabilities imposed by the Boer Government on British Indian subjects. In the course of the correspondence that ensued we were asked to agree to a scheme for the employment of 10,000 Indian labourers on the construction of Government railways in the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies; and recognising that the need for Indian labour thus displayed might prove a powerful lever in our hands in securing better treatment for Indians generally in South Africa, we expressed our readiness to consider the proposal if it was likely to lead to substantial concessions in favour of Indians not under indenture. We said that the least that we could accept would be (1) that Indian languages should be included in the literary test applied to new immigrants; (2) that residence in locations should be compulsory only upon those Indians in whose case the restriction is desirable for sanitary reasons; (3) that Indian traders who had established themselves under the former Government should be granted licenses permitting them to retain their present places of business; (4) that all Indians of superior class, including all respectable traders and shopkeepers, should be exempted from the Pass Law and the Curfew system and from the other restrictions imposed on the non-white population.

The Transvaal authorities declined to concede these demands in full, and we have therefore refused to establish a system of emigration of indentured labourers

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to that Colony. The outcome of the negotiations so far will be found in the Despatch sent on 25th July 1904 by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor of the Transvaal, which was presented to Parliament in August last. In it the British Government supported all our main demands except the claim that future immigrants should not be required to be able to write in a European language. We have not yet heard what action has been taken on these instructions by the Transvaal Government.

I do not say that this is a pleasurable record. The problem is one for which it is exceedingly difficult to find a solution. Colonies possessing, or likely before long to possess, rights of self-government cannot be dictated to in such matters, and the feeling that exists among them is undoubtedly very strong. It has seemed to us to be our duty to do nothing to inflame that feeling, but to lose no opportunity of pleading the cause of those whose natural protectors we are, and to make no concession whatever until we obtain a full *quid pro quo* in return. I am confident that in this attitude we shall have the support of the entire Indian community.

I may name one more respect in which the Government of India have, I think, faithfully championed the interests of the general community. I allude to their attitude on the Fiscal Question. I observe that the Hon. Mr. Cable, speaking to-day on behalf of the commercial community, has most strongly endorsed the correctness of the position that we took up in our Despatch of 22nd October 1903. A little while ago it was stated with some authority in England that that Despatch had been drawn up by us in a hurry, and that we were believed to have modified our views. There is no foundation for any such statement. We composed that Despatch with full deliberation. It represented our matured opinions. We have not departed from them in any particular; and if the Government of India were invited to enter a Conference, those I am confident would be the instructions with which our delegates from this end would

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proceed. Our claim is not merely that India should have a voice in the settlement of the question—that none will dispute—but that in any Imperial scheme there should not be imposed upon us a system detrimental to our interests or repugnant to our strongly entertained and unanimous views.

[Here followed a passage about Military Administration, which is reproduced under that heading.]

I have now concluded my picture, of some at any rate, of the activities upon which we are or have lately been engaged. I ask myself, is this in truth an unsympathetic and reactionary régime?[1] Is it likely that the individual who has allowed himself no rest or respite in his labours, be they successful or mistaken, for the Indian people, would endeavour to injure them or thrust them back? Is there a single class in the community who has been so injured? I will go further and say, is there a single individual? If there had been, should we not have heard of him to-day? Would a man who has devoted his whole life to preaching the lessons of the East, its history and traditions, who has often been rallied by his own countrymen for his enthusiasm for the religions and monuments and literature of the East, and who has, while in India, given such abundant proofs of his reverence for faiths and feelings that are not his own—turn round and assail what he had hitherto revered? These questions I must leave others to answer. As for reaction, I console myself with the wise saying of Macaulay, "Ever since childhood I have been seeing nothing but progress, and hearing of nothing but reaction and decay."

For my own part, as the last year of my work in India opens, I look back upon the past not with any self-complacency—because while much has been done,

[1] This was an allusion to the charges so frequently brought by the Congress Party against Lord Curzon's Government during the concluding years of his administration, and more particularly after his Convocation Address of February 1905, which is printed in vol. ii.

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much also remains undone—but with gratitude that the opportunity has been vouchsafed to my colleagues and myself of giving so definite an impulse to all that makes up the growth and prosperity of a people and the safety of an Empire, and with the sanguine conviction that none can sow as diligently and whole-heartedly as we have endeavoured to sow, without a harvest springing up—indeed the green shoots are already high above the ground—that will ten thousand times repay the exertion, and obliterate every scar.

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AGRARIAN LEGISLATION

PUNJAB LAND ALIENATION BILL (LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, SIMLA)

AT a meeting of the Legislative Council at Simla on October 19, 1900, a debate took place on the Punjab Land Alienation Bill (for the restriction of the right of land alienation to members of the same agricultural tribes). On the motion that the Bill be passed, the Viceroy spoke as follows:—

When the Government of India utilises its legislative power to pass what is certainly a drastic, and has been described in the course of these debates as a revolutionary measure, affecting any subject, but more particularly affecting the land, there are two questions as to which it should, in my opinion, satisfy itself. The first is—has the existence of an evil, calling for legislative interference, been established? The second is—is the particular legislation proposed the right remedy?

The first of these questions we had answered to our own satisfaction a year ago. A careful study of the reports and returns, extending over a period of more than thirty years, had convinced the Government of India that the alienation of land in the Punjab, practically initiated by the British Power after annexation, is progressing with increased and alarming rapidity; that, in consequence of this progress, land is passing away from the hands of the agricultural classes, whom it is our policy to maintain upon it, and into the hands of

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classes or persons who, whatever the part that they may play in the economy of agrarian life, are not, in our judgment, either necessary or desirable as landholders; and that consequently a grave political as well as economic danger threatens the Province, which it is the bounden duty of Government to avert. Nothing that has occurred in the interim has tended to shake our confidence in the substantial justice of this conviction. On the contrary, I think that it has been strengthened by the evidence that has since poured in. We have been told, it is true, that there can be no political danger in leaving things as they are, because the discontent of the Punjab peasantry is never likely to take the form of active rebellion. I should be sorry to think that our political objections to a continuance of the *status quo* were supposed to be based upon such fears as these. It is not a disloyal peasantry that we apprehend. It is a despondent, debt-ridden, expropriated, and impoverished land-owning class, particularly a class recruited from the stable and conservative elements so forcibly described by the Hon. Mr. Tupper, which would be both a source of weakness to the Province and of alarm to the State. Again, it has been said to-day that the *sowkar*[1] is a very useful and even indispensable factor in rural life, who is quite content if he secures his reasonable profits, and has no *a priori* appetite for land. So far as I can see, the model money-lender whom I have described, and whose utility I do not dispute, will not be at all injured by this Bill. The zemindar will still require money, and the *buniya* will continue to provide it. But it is the Shylock, who insists upon his pound of flesh, and who, under the existing system, is in the habit of taking it in land, because it is the one security which his debtor can furnish, at whom we aim. A money-lending class I fully believe to be essential to the existing organisation of agrarian life in India; but we do not desire to see them converted into land-grabbers, either voluntary or

[1] This *sowkar* or *buniya* is the money-lender.

involuntary, at the expense of the hereditary occupants of the soil.

I do not, therefore, feel any doubt as to the seriousness of the malady which we have been called upon to diagnose, and for which, if we value our responsibility, it is our duty to prescribe. But there arises the second question, whether we have, or have not, adopted the right prescription.

There is one objection that has been raised to our Bill, which would equally apply to any Bill. It has been said that social customs and institutions cannot be changed by arbitrary dispositions, either of law or executive authority; that they should be allowed to work out their own salvation; and that, in the process of what is described as evolution, but is in reality only blind and irresponsible abnegation of control, the desired reform will some day come. With me this argument carries no weight; for it is the argument, both of the optimist, in so far as it cheerily but thoughtlessly assumes that things, if left to themselves, will come right in the end, which I may observe in nine cases out of ten is not the case; and of the pessimist, in so far as it contends that Governments ought not to attempt to solve problems, because their solution is hard; while it is also in direct violation of historical facts. If successive British Governments had contentedly accepted the proposition that social and agrarian evils are not to be rectified by legislation, where, I wonder, would the boasted advance of the nineteenth century have been? How would the men in our coal mines, the women and children in our factories, ever have secured the full protection which they now enjoy? Would labour have emancipated itself from the all-powerful control of capital? Had they not been guaranteed by legislative enactments, where would the valued privileges of compensation for improvements, compensation for accidents, compensation for disturbance have been? Even in India itself, how should we have built up the fabric of social and agrarian rights without the instrumentality of the law?

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Finally, as regards this particular case of land in the Punjab, I do not see how there can be anything immoral or revolutionary in taking away or modifying a privilege which it is proved beyond possibility of doubt was for the most part one of our own arbitrary creation. If it is an improper thing to diminish or destroy proprietary rights in land because it involves an interference with the course of nature, equally was it an improper thing to create them as we did fifty years ago, when they did not already exist. You cannot apply the argument at one end of the scale without admitting it at the other. This is the answer to the plea of inviolable promises and inviolable rights that was put forward to-day by Sir Harnam Singh. The objections in principle to legislation of this description may, therefore, I think, be disregarded.

There remains the question whether this particular Bill and the methods to which it proposes to give the sanctity of law, are the best remedy that could have been devised. I have been a good deal struck in the discussion, both in Council and in print, by the absence of any alternative prescription. Inaction, I may point out, is not an alternative. It is only an evasion of responsibility. It does not, of course, follow, because no other suitable or likely remedy has been pointed out, that ours is the sole or the right one. Such a contention would be both illogical and foolish. But, given an evil which all admit, if the method of cure, or rather of prevention, which is suggested by the responsible physician is questioned, either by the patient or by the public, the onus, I think, lies upon the latter of indicating a better plan. The fact that, in the present case, no such rival panacea has been forthcoming leads me to claim that the Government proposal, whether it be sound or unsound, at any rate holds the field.

I now turn for a few moments to the Bill itself. It will not be denied that we have proceeded with the various stages of its growth and enactment with singular care and deliberation. The Bill in its original shape was the outcome of years of patient study. In the form

which it has now finally assumed, it also bears the impress of repeated reference, of diligent reconsideration, and of an anxious desire to meet, in no dogmatic frame of mind, the criticisms whether of expert authority or of public opinion. We should, I think, have been very obstinate and unwise had we adhered to every clause, or even to every leading feature, of the Bill as introduced last year. It was emphatically a case in which a reasonable spirit was called for, and in which some concession was required to the arguments of opponents, not for the mere sake of compromise, but in order to bring the measure into closer harmony both with the feelings of the community and with the needs of the case. It is in such a spirit that the Bill has been conducted through Committee by the Hon. Mr. Rivaz, on whose behalf it will, I am sure, be admitted by all of his colleagues that, if he has been clear as to where to stand firm, he has also known exactly how to conciliate and where to yield. As a result of the labours of the Select Committee, for which I must, on behalf of the Government of India, thank all its members, the Bill now emerges a more efficient, a more elastic, and, therefore, a more workable measure. In the old Bill, for instance, the Revenue Officer's authority for every permanent alienation of land was made obligatory, even in cases of merely formal sanction to alienation between non-agriculturists. Now this sanction has been wisely dispensed with. Next, we have extended the maximum period of mortgage, when made by a member of an agricultural tribe outside his tribe or group of tribes, from fifteen to twenty years; we have added another form of mortgage which is likely to prove both serviceable and popular; and we have given power to the local Government to prescribe, in case of necessity, yet other variations. These are only a few among the many changes, and, as I think, improvements, which have been introduced into the Bill. I do not say that they have converted it into a perfect measure. I have seen enough of agrarian legislation in the British Parliament to know that it never attains

perfection, that it often fails in what are thought in advance to be its most certain effects, and that strange and unforeseen consequences ensue. No doubt our Bill will not differ from English or Irish Land Bills in this respect. Some of its provisions will not do what is expected of them. Others will meet with a surprising and unexpected vogue. That is the fate of all experimental legislation; and that we are making a great experiment I for one have never denied. Given the desirability of making it, which I have already argued, the utmost that we can do is, as far as possible, to anticipate every likely consequence, and to graft upon it the wisdom of the most expert intelligence.

There are some features in the Bill upon which I admit that the arguments are very evenly balanced. It has been said, for instance, that we have drawn the restrictions too tight, that the phrase "agriculturist" is too narrow and inelastic a term, and that there should be no restriction upon dealings between members of that class. I am not insensible of the danger of unduly narrowing the market for the compulsory vendor, or again of excluding as a purchaser the *bona fide* cultivator who may not happen to fall within the agriculturist definition. But, on the whole, I think that, in these respects, we have gone as far as prudence and the main principles of our legislation allow. The embarrassed land-owner should find a sufficiently wide market within the limits of his tribal group; while the category of agriculturists is, as has been shown, neither so rigid nor so exclusive as has sometimes been assumed. Money-lenders are inside as well as outside it; nor need the credit of the debtor be permanently impaired for lack of a partner to the desired transaction.

As regards the future of this legislation, I will not be so rash as to prophesy. I should be treading upon too uncertain ground. One thing only I will predict, namely, that the gloomy forebodings of its opponents will not be realised. The case for the Opposition, as I may call it, has been stated upon a previous occasion in

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this Council, and again to-day, as well as in a printed Minute of Dissent, by the Hon. Sir Hirnam Singh. If we are to believe the opinions which he has expressed or recorded at different stages, and I quote his actual words, the majority of the peasant proprietors of the Punjab are to be reduced by this Bill to a state of serfdom worse than that of the Middle Ages; it is to be followed by the impoverishment of millions of men living upon the soil; it is to doom the people to perpetual misery, and to destroy their happiness and contentment; British prestige will be rudely shaken; agricultural credit will be destroyed; and the progress of the province will be retarded for at least fifty years. Every age and every epoch has had its Cassandra, and I do not complain of my hon. friend for donning the familiar garb. I venture, however, to think that, if his superlatives had been fewer, his invective would have been more convincing, and that his vaticinations will be found to have been a good deal exaggerated. If this be so, I am confident that no one will be better pleased than the hon. member himself. I will not rush to the opposite extreme. I have no intention of claiming that universal peace, or prosperity, or affluence, will settle down upon the land in consequence of this Bill. Far from it. There are many questions as to the future to which I should hesitate to give a confident reply. Will this measure really secure to the agricultural tribes of the Province the full possession of their ancestral lands? Will it restrain them from reckless borrowing? Will it save them from the mesh of the usurer? Or, while protecting them from usurers of other castes, will it hand over the feebler and less thrifty units in the class to the richer and more powerful members of the tribe? Or, again, will it effectually divorce the money bags of the province from the one form of investment which has always been dear to successful speculation? It would require a keener insight than mine to answer such questions with any certainty. It may be permissible, however, to anticipate that, while all of these consequences will to some extent

ensue, no one will follow to the exclusion of the others. The moneyed classes, the *nouveaux riches*, will still have their opportunity of obtaining land, but not on such easy terms as in the past. The agricultural tribesmen will not all in a moment be converted to frugal or provident habits; but the opportunities and the temptations of borrowing will, it is hoped, be less. The weakling and the spendthrift will still go under, and his possessions will pass to his stronger brethren. But the transfer will be more frequently to men of his own tribe or tribal group, and less frequently to outsiders who are not connected either with the traditions or with the traditional occupation of the Province. The transition will not be abrupt or sensational. It will be enough if, though gradual, it is sure. I shall myself watch the venture with the warmest sympathy and interest, not merely because I have been head of the Government of India at the time when this Bill has passed into law, nor because I know it to have been framed with the most conscientious regard for the public interest, but because it is the first serious step in a movement which is designed to free the agricultural classes in this country—the bone and sinew of our strength—from an incubus which is slowly but steadily wearing them down.[1]

[1] The operation of the Act has, so far, confirmed the most favourable hopes. In the Punjab itself it has been a success. It has since been extended, at the request of the people, to the settled districts of the N.W. Frontier Province, and has been copied in Bundelkhund, where a similar problem presented itself. The question has even been raised of applying it to other and larger areas.

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AGRICULTURAL BANKS (LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, CALCUTTA)

[In the Legislative Council at Calcutta on March 23, 1904, on the motion that the Bill to provide for the constitution and control of Co-operative Credit Societies be passed into law, the Viceroy spoke as follows :—

It is a pleasure to find to-day that we are all so unanimous, and that in the contemplation of this measure the lion has lain down with the lamb. The Hon. Dr. Mukerji remarked that this Bill is our first serious effort to deal with the problem of agricultural indebtedness in India. That is not quite the case. In October 1900, in a speech upon the introduction of the Punjab Land Alienation Bill at Simla, I made the remark that that Bill was the commencement of a series of ventures upon which I hoped that the Government would embark to deal with this very problem. I described it as a canker eating into the vitals of the national life, and as one of the questions which I hoped to do a little to press forward to solution during my time. A year later, we passed that Bill into law amid the most dismal prophecies from the Punjab native representative on the Legislative Council, as to the irreparable ruin that it was going to bring upon the peasantry of the Punjab. I am glad to say that those predictions have been entirely falsified by events; and only the other day I was called upon to sanction the extension to the greater part of the North-West Frontier Province of the provisions of the Act, which have, on the whole, proved so acceptable in the Punjab that an agitation for their application across the border has been growing ever since. Last year we took similar action in Bundelkhund, where not only has the power to alienate land been restricted in future, but an effort is being made to clear off the existing debt of the agricultural popula-

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tion. Similar measures were recommended for Bombay by the Famine Commission. These undertakings relate to one aspect of the problem of indebtedness. To-day we are giving the authority of the law to an attempt to deal with another. From one point of view it is the inverse aspect: for while such measures as the Punjab Alienation Act must necessarily, however successful they may be, involve some curtailment of credit—a drawback compensated twenty times over by the accompanying gains—the object of this Bill is not to curtail credit but to increase it, while avoiding the evils which have sprung from the great expansion of credit caused by the conferment of the full right of transfer of land upon classes untrained to its exercise.

The promotion of agricultural enterprise by an increase in the available capital may be described as a prime duty of any Government administering a large rural population. All producers, even the poorest, require capital, and the Indian raiyat by no means least. But the conditions under which alone he can procure it in this country are so onerous, he is so apt to dissipate it when acquired by a sort of traditional improvidence, and the consequences of his indebtedness are so disastrous and even appalling, that there seems to be a special obligation upon the Government of India to come to his assistance in such ways as we legitimately can.

One of the methods that we adopt for this end in India is by *takavi* loans under the Land Improvement or Agriculturists' Relief Acts. I doubt if the public is fully aware of the extent of the assistance that is thereby given, particularly in times of distress. In 1902-03, for instance, the total advances to cultivators amounted to three-quarters of a crore or half a million sterling, of which more than half was in Bombay. But it is difficult for this form of assistance to reach all who are in need, and there are practical drawbacks in the operation of the system which are now under the independent consideration of Government.

Here we are initiating an independent but allied

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experiment which is to make the cultivating classes themselves the borrowers, improving their credit, developing their thrift, and training them to utilise for their own benefit the great advantage which the experience of other countries has shown to lie in the principle of mutual co-operation. I used the word experiment. But I am not sure that this is not rather too strong; for undoubtedly the reports of able officers, such as Sir F. Nicholson and Mr. Dupernex, and the practical working of a limited number of institutions in different parts of the country, some of them started by enthusiastic officers on their own account, have already provided us with some measure of guidance as to what we ought to aim at, and what to avoid.

A year ago in my Budget speech I stated some of the fundamental differences of opinion that had emerged from the reference to local Governments which we had just undertaken.[1] There was really nothing surprising in this. Many of those whom we consulted had had no practical experience, and were only able to give *a priori* replies. Moreover, the co-operative system is itself not at all widely understood; and the degree to which Government assistance should be given was as much in dispute as were the nature and limitation of the objects for which loans should be allowed. During the year that has passed each of these disputed points has had to be examined by Government, and has since been further elucidated by the labours of the very competent Select Committee whom we were fortunate enough to assemble for the consideration of the Bill. The principles that have characterised the great majority, if not the whole, of the changes that have been introduced by them, have everywhere been the same—greater simplification and more freedom. Let the measure be hampered by as few restrictive provisions as possible; and let it be adaptable to the varying conditions of different parts of the country and sections of the people.

There is one point on which there seems to have

[1] *Vide* p. 137.

been some misconception, and which it is desirable to make clear. I have seen it complained that Government might have been a good deal more liberal in initiating so great an experiment, and that part of what we take from the people in land revenue we might very appropriately give back to them in capital for these societies. These views, plausible as they may seem, rest upon a complete misconception both of the co-operative system and of the policy of Government with regard to this particular scheme.

It is not primarily because the financial contribution that might have been required to assist every new institution would be great, or because we grudge the money, that so little is said about grants-in-aid by the State, but because the best advice and the teachings of experience are at one in the conclusion that unrestricted Government assistance is a dangerous and may be a fatal gift. "Prolonged or indiscriminating State aid," says Mr. Henry Wolff, who is an unrivalled authority on the matter, "is destructive of self-help. The State aid given in Germany, France, and Austria has been productive of much mischief,—the creation of a great deal of bogus co-operation, which has resulted in loss and done no good to the people." For similar reasons no special powers of recovery of debt have been given to the societies. The object is to foster a spirit of responsibility and self-reliance; and it is because the societies must be dependent for their success on their own care and caution in the disbursement of their funds, that it has been possible to dispense with restrictions on their powers in the Bill that would otherwise have been necessary. Government aid will be forthcoming when necessary, and there is more danger to be apprehended from excessive liberality than from the withholding of assistance where there is a prospect of its proving advantageous. It will be necessary rather to restrict the extent to which local Governments may give subventions than to urge them to generosity. If the societies fail in the absence of State aid, and from not having

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more arbitrary powers of recovering their debts, it will not be because those conditions are essential to the success of the movement, but because there is an organic weakness in the co-operative system as understood and applied in this country.

I am hopeful, however, that this will not be the case. Like Sir D. Ibbetson, who has evolved and conducted this measure with equal insight, ability, and sympathy, I refrain from any confident predictions. I think it quite likely that in some parts of the country the experiment will fail, and that societies will either not be started or after a short existence will disappear. Even where they succeed, I do not imagine for a moment that borrowing at high rates of interest will be done away with altogether, or that we shall replace destitution by relative affluence. But let us assume the most modest degree of success. Let us contemplate in districts or towns or villages, here and there, a few of these institutions coming into existence and gradually striking their roots into the soil. Each tree so rooted will ultimately cast its own shade, and will be the parent of others; and if in a few years' time I were to hear that the experiment had never germinated at all in one province, while it was bearing humble but healthy fruit in another, I should yet think it justified.

What I desire to point out, however, is this. Here is a sincere and patient effort to ameliorate the condition of the peasantry of what we are constantly being told is the poorest country in the world. Not a day passes in which hundreds of articles are not written in the native press to prove that the material interests of these poor people are neglected or ignored by an alien Government, and are only correctly understood by the leaders of the native community. I am far from accepting this statement of the case. When I find a European member of this Council, the Hon. Mr. Hamilton, spontaneously offering a loan of Rs. 20,000 to finance a number of small banks at the start, and when I hear of a distinguished civil servant, such as Sir F. Nicholson, coming

back after his retirement from the service to reside in this country and to help a number of these societies on their way, it seems to me that European sympathy is capable of taking a very practical shape. As to native sympathy, I cannot believe that for an object so beneficent, and in interests so unselfish, it will not equally be forthcoming. If these societies could be firmly established even in a hundred places in India, greater good, I venture to think, would be done to the people in those areas than by a decade of political agitation. More places on this or that Council for a few active or eloquent men will not benefit the raiyat. What he wants is the loosening of the bondage of debt which bows him down. Anything that will give him greater self-reliance, and teach him to look not only to Government or to its officers but to himself, will be to the good. If the feeling that he should be helped is as strong and as sincere as I believe it to be among the native community, they have in this Bill an unrivalled opportunity of giving a practical and unostentatious demonstration of their sympathy with the most deserving and the most helpless class of their own countrymen. Will they take it? Government has played its part. I invite them to play theirs.

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ARCHÆOLOGY AND ANCIENT MONUMENTS

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

On February 7, 1900, Lord Curzon attended the annual meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of which he was the Patron, and addressed the Society in the following terms :—

I hope that there is nothing inappropriate in my addressing to this Society a few observations upon the duty of Government in respect of Ancient Buildings in India. The Asiatic Society of Bengal still, I trust, even in these days when men are said to find no time for scholarship, and when independent study or research seems to have faded out of Indian fashion, retains that interest in archæology which is so often testified to in its earlier publications, and was promoted by so many of its most illustrious names. Surely here, if anywhere, in this house which enshrines the memorials, and has frequently listened to the wisdom, of great scholars and renowned students, it is permissible to recall the recollection of the present generation to a subject that so deeply engaged the attention of your early pioneers, and that must still, even in a breathless age, appeal to the interest of every thoughtful man.

In the course of my recent tour, during which I visited some of the most famous sites and beautiful or historic buildings in India, I more than once remarked, in reply to Municipal addresses, that I regarded the conservation

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of ancient monuments as one of the primary obligations of Government. We have a duty to our forerunners, as well as to our contemporaries and to our descendants,—nay, our duty to the two latter classes in itself demands the recognition of an obligation to the former, since we are the custodians for our own age of that which has been bequeathed to us by an earlier, and since posterity will rightly blame us if, owing to our neglect, they fail to reap the same advantages that we have been privileged to enjoy. Moreover, how can we expect at the hands of futurity any consideration for the productions of our own time—if indeed any are worthy of such—unless we have ourselves shown a like respect to the handiwork of our predecessors? This obligation, which I assert and accept on behalf of Government, is one of an even more binding character in India than in many European countries. There abundant private wealth is available for the acquisition or the conservation of that which is frequently private property. Corporations, societies, endowments, trusts, provide a vast machinery that relieves the Government of a large portion of its obligation. The historic buildings, the magnificent temples, the inestimable works of art, are invested with a publicity that to some extent saves them from the risk of desecration or the encroachments of decay. Here all is different. India is covered with the visible records of vanished dynasties, of forgotten monarchs, of persecuted and sometimes dishonoured creeds. These monuments are, for the most part, though there are notable exceptions, in British territory, and on soil belonging to Government. Many of them are in out-of-the-way places, and are liable to the combined ravages of a tropical climate, an exuberant flora, and very often a local and ignorant population, who see only in an ancient building the means of inexpensively raising a modern one for their own convenience. All these circumstances explain the peculiar responsibility that rests upon Government in India. If there be any one who says to me that there is no duty devolving upon a Christian Government to

preserve the monuments of a pagan art, or the sanctuaries of an alien faith, I cannot pause to argue with such a man. Art and beauty, and the reverence that is owing to all that has evoked human genius or has inspired human faith, are independent of creeds, and, in so far as they touch the sphere of religion, are embraced by the common religion of all mankind. Viewed from this standpoint, the rock temple of the Brahmans stands on precisely the same footing as the Buddhist Vihara, and the Mohammedan Musjid as the Christian Cathedral. There is no principle of artistic discrimination between the mausoleum of the despot and the sepulchre of the saint. What is beautiful, what is historic, what tears the mask off the face of the past, and helps us to read its riddles, and to look it in the eyes—these, and not the dogmas of a combative theology, are the principal criteria to which we must look. Much of ancient history, even in an age of great discoveries, still remains mere guess-work. It is only slowly being pieced together by the efforts of scholars and by the outcome of research. But the clues are lying everywhere at our hand, in buried cities, in undeciphered inscriptions, in casual coins, in crumbling pillars, and pencilled slabs of stone. They supply the data by which we may reconstruct the annals of the past, and recall to life the morality, the literature, the politics, the art of a perished age.

Compared with the antiquity of Assyrian or Egyptian, or even of early European monuments, the age of the majority of Indian monuments is not great. I speak subject to correction, but my impression is that the oldest sculptured monument in India is the Sanchi Tope, the great railing of which cannot possibly be placed before the middle of the third century before Christ, although the tope itself may be earlier. At that time the palaces of Chaldæa and Nineveh, the Pyramids and the rock tombs of Egypt, were already thousands of years old. We have no building in India as old as the Parthenon at Athens; the large majority are young compared with the Coliseum at Rome. All the Norman

and the majority of the Gothic Cathedrals of England and of Western Europe were already erected before the great era of Moslem architecture in India had begun. The Kutub Minar at Delhi, which is the finest early Mohammedan structure in this country, was built within a century of Westminster Hall in London, which we are far from regarding as an ancient monument. As for the later glories of Arabian architecture at Delhi, at Agra, and at Lahore, the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, which we regard in England as the last product of a dying architectural epoch, were already grey when they sprang, white and spotless, from the hands of the masons of Akbar and Shah Jehan; while the Taj Mahal was only one generation older than Wren's Renaissance fabric of modern St. Paul's.

There is another remarkable feature of the majority of Indian antiquities—of those at any rate that belong to the Musulman epoch—that they do not represent an indigenous genius or an Indian style. They are exotics, imported into this country in the train of conquerors who had learnt their architectural lessons in Persia, in Central Asia, in Arabia, in Afghanistan. More than a thousand years earlier a foreign influence had exercised a scarcely less marked, though more transient, influence upon certain forms of Indian architecture. I allude to the Greek types which were derived from the Græco-Bactrian kingdoms, that were founded upon the remains of Alexander's conquests, and which in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era profoundly affected the art and sculpture of North-West India and the Punjab. Indian sculptures or Indian buildings, however, because they reflect a foreign influence, or betray a foreign origin, are not the less, but perhaps the more interesting to ourselves, who were borne to India upon the crest of a later but similar wave, and who may find in their non-Indian characteristics a reminiscence of forms which we already know in Europe, and of a process of assimilation with which our own archæological history has rendered us familiar. Indeed a race like our own, who

are themselves foreigners, are in a sense better fitted to guard, with a dispassionate and impartial zeal, the relics of different ages, and of sometimes antagonistic beliefs, than might be the descendants of the warring races or the votaries of the rival creeds. To us the relics of Hindu and Mohammedan, of Buddhist, Brahmin, and Jain are, from the antiquarian, the historical, and the artistic point of view, equally interesting and equally sacred. One does not excite a more vivid, and the other a weaker emotion. Each represents the glories or the faith of a branch of the human family. Each fills a chapter in English history. Each is a part of the heritage which Providence has committed to the custody of the ruling power.

If, however, the majority of the structural monuments of India, the topes and temples, the palaces and fortresses and tombs, be of no exceeding antiquity in the chronology of architecture, and even if the greater number of those at any rate which are well known and visited, are not indigenous in origin, it remains true, on the other hand, that it is in the exploration and study of purely Indian remains, in the probing of archaic mounds, in the excavation of old Indian cities, and in the copying and reading of ancient inscriptions, that a good deal of the exploratory work of the archæologist in India will in future lie. The later pages of Indian history are known to us, and can be read by all. But a curtain of dark and romantic mystery hangs over the earlier chapters, of which we are only slowly beginning to lift the corners. This also is not less an obligation of Government. Epigraphy should not be set behind research any more than research should be set behind conservation. All are ordered parts of any scientific scheme of antiquarian work. I am not one of those who think that Government can afford to patronise the one and ignore the other. It is, in my judgment, equally our duty to dig and discover, to classify, reproduce, and describe, to copy and decipher, and to cherish and conserve. Of restoration I cannot, on the present occasion,

undertake to speak, since the principles of legitimate and artistic restoration require a more detailed analysis than I have time to bestow upon them this evening. But it will be seen from what I have said that my view of the obligations of Government is not grudging, and that my estimate of the work to be done is ample.

If then the question be asked, how has the British Government hitherto discharged, and how is it now discharging its task, what is the answer that must be returned? I may say in preface that were the answer unfavourable—and I will presently examine that point—we should merely be forging a fresh link in an unbroken historic chain. Every, or nearly every, successive religion that has permeated or overswept this country has vindicated its own fervour at the expense of the rival whom it has dethroned. When the Brahmans went to Ellora, they hacked away the features of all the seated Buddhas in the rock-chapels and halls. When Kutub-ud-din commenced, and Altamsh continued, the majestic mosque that flanks the Kutub Minar, it was with the spoil of Hindu temples that they reared the fabric, carefully defacing or besmearing the sculptured Jain images, as they consecrated them to their novel purpose. What part of India did not bear witness to the ruthless vandalism of the great iconoclast Aurungzeb? When we admire his great mosque with its tapering minarets, which are the chief feature of the river front at Benares, how many of us remember that he tore down the holy Hindu temple of Vishveshwar to furnish the material and to supply the site? Nadir Shah during his short Indian inroad effected a greater spoliation than has probably ever been achieved in so brief a space of time. When the Mahratta conquerors overran Northern India, they pitilessly mutilated and wantonly destroyed. When Ranjit Singh built the Golden Temple at Amritsar, he ostentatiously rifled Mohammedan buildings and mosques. Nay, dynasties did not spare their own members, nor religions their own shrines. If a capital or fort or sanctuary was not completed in the

lifetime of the builder, there was small chance of its being finished, there was a very fair chance of its being despoiled, by its successor and heir. The environs of Delhi are a wilderness of deserted cities and devastated tombs. Each fresh conqueror, Hindu, or Moghul, or Pathan, marched, so to speak, to his own immortality over his predecessor's grave. The great Akbar in a more peaceful age first removed the seat of Government from Delhi to Agra, and then built Fatehpur Sikri as a new capital, only to be abandoned by his successor. Jehangir alternated between Delhi and Agra, but preferred Lahore to either. Shah Jehan beautified Agra, and then contemplated a final return to Delhi. Aurungzeb marched away to the south and founded still another capital, and was himself buried in territories that now belong to Hyderabad. These successive changes, while they may have reflected little more than a despot's caprice, were yet inimical both to the completion and to the continuous existence of architectural fabrics. The British Government are fortunately exempt from any such promptings, either of religious fanaticism, or restless vanity, or of dynastic and personal pride. But in proportion as they have been unassailed by such temptations, so is their responsibility the greater for inaugurating a new era and for displaying that tolerant and enlightened respect to the treasures of all, which is one of the main lessons that the returning West has been able to teach to the East.

In the domain of archæology, as elsewhere, the original example of duty has been set to the Government of India by individual effort and by private enthusiasm; and only by slow degrees has Government, which is at all times and seasons a tardy learner, warmed to its task. The early archæological researches, conducted by the founders and pioneers of this Society, by Jones, Colebrooke, Wilson, and Prinsep, and by many another *clarum et venerabile nomen*, were in the main literary in character. They consisted in the reconstruction of alphabets, the translation of manuscripts,

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and the decipherment of inscriptions. Sanscrit scholarship was the academic cult of the hour. How these men laboured is illustrated by the fact that Prinsep and Kittoe both died of overwork at the age of forty. Then followed an era of research in buildings and monuments; the pen was supplemented by the spade, and, in succession, descriptions, drawings, paintings, engravings, and in later days photographs and casts, gradually revealed to European eyes the precious contents of the unrifled quarries of Hindustan. In this generation of explorers and writers, special honour must be paid to two names: to James Fergusson, whose earliest work was published in 1845, and who was the first to place the examination of Indian architecture upon a scholarly basis, and to General Sir A. Cunningham, who only a few years later was engaged in the first scientific excavation of the Bhilsa topes. These and other toilers in the same field laboured with a diligence beyond praise; but the work was too great for individual exertion, and much of it remained desultory, fragmentary, and incomplete.

Meanwhile the Government of India was concerned with laying the foundations and extending the borders of a new Empire, and thought little of the relics of old ones. From time to time a Governor-General, in an excess of exceptional enlightenment or generosity, spared a little money for the fitful repair of ancient monuments. Lord Minto appointed a Committee to conduct repairs at the Taj. Lord Hastings ordered works at Fatehpur Sikri and Sikandra. Lord Amherst attempted some restoration of the Kutub Minar. Lord Hardinge persuaded the Court of Directors to sanction arrangements for the examination, delineation, and record of some of the chief Indian antiquities. But these spasmodic efforts resulted in little more than the collection of a few drawings, and the execution of a few local and perfunctory repairs. How little the leaven had permeated the lump, and how strongly the barbarian still dominated the æsthetic in the official

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mind, may be shown by incidents that from time to time occurred.

In the days of Lord William Bentinck the Taj was on the point of being destroyed for the value of its marbles.[1] The same Governor-General sold by auction the marble bath in Shah Jehan's Palace at Agra, which had been torn up by Lord Hastings for a gift to George IV., but had somehow never been despatched. In the same régime a proposal was made to lease the gardens at Sikandra to the executive engineer at Agra for the purposes of speculative cultivation. In 1857, after the Mutiny, it was solemnly proposed to raze to the ground the Jumma Musjid at Delhi, the noblest ceremonial mosque in the world, and it was only spared at the instance of Sir John Lawrence. As late as 1868 the removal of the great gateways of the Sanchi Tope was successfully prevented by the same statesman. I have read of a great Mohammedan pillar, over 600 years old, which was demolished at Aligarh to make room for certain municipal improvements and for the erection of some *bunias'* shops, which, when built, were never let. Some of the sculptured columns of the exquisite Hindu-Musulman mosque at Ajmer were pulled down by a zealous officer to construct a triumphal arch under which the Viceroy of the day[2] was to pass. James Fergusson's books sound one unending note of passionate protest against the barrack-builder and the military engineer. I must confess that I think these individuals have been, and, within the more restricted scope now left to them, still are inveterate sinners. Climb the hill-top at Gwalior and see the barracks of the British soldier and the relics, not yet entirely obliterated, of his occupation of the Palace in the Fort. Read in the Delhi Guide-Books of the horrors that have been perpetrated in the interests of regimental barracks and messes and canteens in the

[1] This statement was made on official authority. But there is reason to think that it is an exaggeration, based on a careless remark by Sir W. Sleeman.

[2] The Earl of Mayo.

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fairy-like pavilions and courts and gardens of Shah Jehan. It is not yet thirty years since the Government of India were invited by a number of army doctors to cut off the battlements of the Fort at Delhi, in order to improve the health of the troops, and only desisted from doing so when a rival band of medical doctrinaires appeared upon the scene to urge the retention of the very same battlements, in order to prevent malarial fever from creeping in. At an earlier date, when picnic parties were held in the garden of the Taj, it was not an uncommon thing for the revellers to arm themselves with hammer and chisel, with which they wiled away the afternoon by chipping out fragments of agate and cornelian from the cenotaphs of the Emperor and his lamented Queen. Indeed, when I was at Agra the other day, I found that the marble tomb of Shah Jehan in the lower vault, beneath which his body actually lies, was still destitute of much of its original inlay, of which I ordered the restoration.[1]

That the era of vandalism is not yet completely at an end is evident from recent experiences, among which I may include my own. When Fergusson wrote his book, the Diwan-i-Am, or Public Hall of Audience, in the Palace at Agra, was a military arsenal, the outer colonnades of which had been built up with brick arches lighted by English windows. All this was afterwards removed. But when the Prince of Wales came to India in 1876, and held a Durbar in this building, the opportunity was too good to be lost, and a fresh coat of whitewash was plentifully bespattered over the sandstone pillars and plinths of the Durbar Hall of Aurungzeb. This too I hope to get removed.[2] When his Royal

[1] This has been completed, and the entire fabric of the Taj, as well as the surrounding buildings, are now in a state of perfect repair. *Vide* p. 217.

[2] It was generally believed that the pillars retained their original red sandstone appearance throughout the Moghul epoch. But careful examination has shown that they were plastered and painted even at that time, as was the Diwan-i-Am at Delhi (which was stripped after the Mutiny); and all that it has been possible to do in the shape of restoration in the Agra Hall is to renew the plaster with as much verisimilitude as possible to the earlier layers which are hidden below.

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Highness was at Delhi, and the various pavilions of Shah Jehan's Palace were connected together for the purposes of an evening party and ball, local talent was called in to reproduce the faded paintings on marble and plaster of the Moghul artists two and a half centuries before. The result of their labours is still an eyesore and a regret. When I was at Lahore in April last, I found the exquisite little Moti Musjid, or Pearl Mosque, in the Fort, which was erected by Jehangir exactly three hundred years ago, still used for the profane purpose to which it had been converted by Ranjit Singh, viz. as a Government Treasury. The arches were built up with brick-work, and below the marble floor had been excavated as a cellar for the reception of iron-bound chests of rupees. I pleaded for the restoration to its original state of this beautiful little building, which I suppose not one visitor in a hundred to Lahore has ever seen.[1] Ranjit Singh cared nothing for the taste or the trophies of his Mohammedan predecessors, and half a century of British military occupation, with its universal paintpot, and the exigencies of the Public Works engineer, has assisted the melancholy decline. Fortunately in recent years something has been done to rescue the main buildings of the Moghul Palace from these two insatiable enemies. At Ahmedabad I found the mosque of Sidi Sayid, the pierced stone lattice-work of whose demi-lune windows is one of the glories of India, used as a tehsildar's cutcherry, and disfigured with plaster partitions and the omnivorous whitewash. I hope to effect the re-conversion of this building.[2] After the conquest of Upper Burma in 1885, the Palace of the Kings at Mandalay which, although built of the most part of wood, is yet a noble specimen of Burmese art, was converted by our conquering battalions into a Club House, a Government Office, and a Church. By degrees I am engaged in removing these superfluous denizens, with the idea of preserving the building as a monument, not of a dynasty

[1] The restoration has since been effected, *vide* p. 219.
[2] This has now been done, *vide* p. 219.

that has vanished never to return, but of an art that, subject to the vicissitudes of fire, earthquake, and decay, is capable of being a joy for ever. There are other sites and fabrics in India upon which I also have my eye, which I shall visit, if possible, during my time, and which I shall hope to rescue from a kindred or a worse fate.

These are the gloomy or regrettable features of the picture. On the other hand, there has been, during the last forty years, some sort of sustained effort on the part of Government to recognise its responsibilities and to purge itself of a well-merited reproach. This attempt has been accompanied, and sometimes delayed, by disputes as to the rival claims of research and of conservation, and by discussion over the legitimate spheres of action of the central and the local Governments. There have been periods of supineness as well as of activity. There have been moments when it has been argued that the State had exhausted its duty or that it possessed no duty at all. There have been persons who thought that when all the chief monuments were indexed and classified, we might sit down with folded hands and allow them slowly and gracefully to crumble into ruin. There have been others who argued that railways and irrigation did not leave even a modest half lakh of rupees per annum for the requisite establishment to supervise the most glorious galaxy of monuments in the world. Nevertheless, with these interruptions and exceptions, which I hope may never again recur, the progress has been positive, and, on the whole, continuous. It was Lord Canning who first invested archæological work in this country with permanent Government patronage by constituting, in 1860, the Archæological Survey of Northern India, and by appointing General Cunningham in 1862 to be Archæological Surveyor to Government. From that period date the publications of the Archæological Survey of India, which have at times assumed different forms, and which represent varying degrees of scholarship and merit, but which constitute,

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on the whole, a noble mine of information, in which the student has but to delve in order to discover an abundant spoil. For over twenty years General Cunningham continued his labours, of which these publications are the memorial. Meanwhile orders were issued for the registration and preservation of historical monuments throughout India, local surveys were started in some of the subordinate Governments, the Bombay Survey being placed in the capable hands of Mr. Burgess, who was a worthy follower in the footsteps of Cunningham, and who ultimately succeeded him as Director-General of the Archæological Survey. Some of the Native States followed the example thus set to them, and either applied for the services of the Government archæologists, or established small departments of their own.

In the provinces much depended upon the individual tastes or proclivities of the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, just as at headquarters the strength of the impetus varied with the attitude of successive Viceroys. Lord Northbrook, who was always a generous patron of the arts, issued orders in 1873 as to the duties of local Governments; and in his Viceroyalty Sir John Strachey was the first Lieutenant-Governor to undertake a really noble work of renovation and repair at Agra—a service which is fitly commemorated by a marble slab in the Palace of Shah Jehan. The poetic and imaginative temperament of Lord Lytton could not be deaf to a similar appeal. Holding that no claim upon the initiative and resources of the Supreme Government was more essentially Imperial than the preservation of national antiquities, he contributed in 1879 a sum of $3\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs to the restoration of buildings in the North-West Provinces, and proposed the appointment of a special officer, to be entitled the Curator of Ancient Monuments, which, while it did not receive sanction in his time, was left to be carried out by his successor, Lord Ripon. During the three years that Major Cole held this post, from 1880 to 1883, much excellent work in respect both of reports and classification was done;

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and large sums of money were given by the Government of India, *inter alia*, for repairs in the Gwalior Fort and at Sanchi Tope. But at the end of this time succeeded a period of some reaction, in which it appeared to be thought that the task of the Central Government, in the preparation of surveys and lists, was drawing to a close, and that local Governments might, in future, be safely entrusted with the more modest, but, I may add, not less critical, duty of conservation. More recently, under Lord Elgin's auspices, the archæological work of Government has been placed upon a more definite basis. The entire country has been divided into a number of circles, each with a surveyor of its own, and while the establishment is regarded as an Imperial charge, the work is placed under local control and receives such financial backing as the resources of the local Governments or the sympathies of individual Governors may be able to give it. In the North-West Provinces, where I was recently touring, I found Sir A. MacDonnell worthily sustaining, in point of generous and discriminating sympathy, the traditions that were created by Sir John Strachey.

For my part, I feel far from clear that Government might not do a good deal more than it is now doing, or than it has hitherto consented to do. I certainly cannot look forward to a time at which either the obligations of the State will have become exhausted, or at which archæological research and conservation in this country can dispense with Government direction and control. I see fruitful fields of labour still unexplored, bad blunders still to be corrected, gaping omissions to be supplied, plentiful opportunities for patient renovation and scholarly research. In my opinion, the taxpayers of this country are in the last degree unlikely to resent a somewhat higher expenditure—and, after all, a few thousand rupees go a long way in archæological work, and the total outlay is exceedingly small—upon objects in which I believe them to be as keenly interested as we are ourselves. I hope to assert more definitely during my time the

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Imperial responsibility of Government in respect of Indian antiquities, to inaugurate or to persuade a more liberal attitude on the part of those with whom it rests to provide the means, and to be a faithful guardian of the priceless treasure-house of art and learning that has, for a few years at any rate, been committed to my charge.

ANCIENT MONUMENTS BILL

In the Legislative Council at Calcutta, on March 18, 1904, on the motion that the Bill to provide for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments be passed into law, the Viceroy spoke as follows:—

In a session which embraces a good deal of contentious business, it will, I think, be a pleasure to all of us to pass into law a Bill which has been received without a discordant note by all classes of the community, to which no one has come forward to move an amendment, and which will presently take its place, to use the classical phrase, *nemine contradicente*, on the Statute-Book. The principle of the Bill is the sound, and, as I think, irrefragable proposition that a nation is interested in its antiquities—an interest which is based on grounds alike of history, sentiment, and expediency,—and that it is reasonable and proper to give statutory sanction to the maintenance of this principle by the State. In the somewhat frigid language of the preamble, the object of the measure, more specifically stated, is "to provide for the preservation of ancient monuments, for the exercise of control over traffic in antiquities, and over excavation, and for the protection and acquisition of ancient monuments and of objects of archæological, historical, or artistic interest." In pursuing these ends we have endeavoured, as far as possible, to enlist private co-operation, to exercise the minimum of interference with the rights of property, to ensure a fair price in the

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event of compulsory purchase, and to pay most scrupulous deference to religious feelings or family associations. The Bill will require to be administered with sympathy and discretion. But I trust the awakened conscience of all sections of the community in respect of our duty to the past to save us from friction or trouble, and I believe myself that private effort will gladly combine with Government for the furtherance of objects in which both are equally concerned. For the individual owner is as much the trustee for his particular archæological possession as the Government is the general trustee on behalf of the nation at large.

The Bill is, however, even more than its stipulations imply. It is in reality the coping-stone of a policy in respect of archæology and the remains of the past which the Government of India have pursued, with fits and starts, throughout the past half-century, but with sustained and unremitting ardour during the past few years. I had been in India more than once as an ordinary traveller before I came out as Viceroy, and had observed the state of its antiquities with pain and regret. Fresh as I then was from my University days, I remember thinking how pertinent to India, and to my countrymen in India, were the words of reproach in which the Roman poet, Horace, had addressed his countrymen in what he thought the decadent and indifferent days of the early Empire; and at the risk of being so unfashionable as to quote a language which is said to be now taboo in public life, I must cite the passage—

> Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
> Romane, donec templa refeceris,
> Aedesque labentes deorum, et
> Foeda nigro simulacra fume.

In India it was not so much a case of recovering the favour of the gods—for our theology is not quite the same as that of the Romans—as it was of expiating the carelessness of the past, and escaping the reproaches of posterity. But the obligation was just as strong and

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urgent; and this Council, while giving the authority of law by its vote of to-day to the culminating phase, may like to hear something of the manner in which we have interpreted its remaining injunctions.

It seemed to me, when I began to inquire exhaustively into the matter five years ago, that the Government of India had made three mistakes. In the first place, they had not recognised that any obligation lay upon them. They had devolved it entirely upon local Governments, leaving to the latter to spend much or little, or nothing at all, and contenting themselves with paying for an inadequate supervisory staff. Secondly, they had set no standard to which local Governments ought to conform. There was neither co-ordination, nor system, nor control. In one province an enthusiastic administrator might do his duty by the archæological treasures temporarily committed to his care. In another there was no idea that archæology existed as a science, or, if it did, that Government had anything to do with the matter. The third mistake was that conservation, or the task of preserving the memorable relics that we still possess, had been forgotten in the task of research for those that no longer exist, or of writing about objects that were fast falling into decay. Our first step, accordingly, was to revive the post of Director-General, which had been in abeyance since 1889, and to procure a competent person to fill it. The next was to set an example to local Governments, which we undertook to do by the grant of sums aggregating one lakh a year, to supplement the local expenditure of which their own funds might permit. The third step was to stimulate them and the Native States also to renewed efforts by a definite programme of conservation and repair. By the end of 1900 our proposals had gone home to the Secretary of State. A year later his answer was received, and a Director-General, Mr. Marshall, who has since thrown himself with scholarly energy and enthusiasm into his task, was on his way out to India; and in February 1902 we were in a position to publish a Resolution in the Gazette, defining our

policy, and foreshadowing the programme of work that lay before us, as well as the legislation which we are carrying to completion to-day. Two years have passed since that date, and the new system is now firmly established, and has already justified itself by its fruits. I can, perhaps, best bring home to this Council the extent to which we have advanced by giving the concrete figures of then and now. In the year 1898-99 the total expenditure of the Government of India upon archæology was less than £3000, and this was almost exclusively devoted to salaries; the total expenditure of all the local Governments added together was only about £4000 in the same year. A sum, therefore, of £7000 per annum represented the total contribution of the Government of 300 millions of people towards the study or preservation of the most beautiful and valuable collection of ancient monuments in the Eastern world. The Government of India is now spending upon this object 2½ lakhs per annum, and the local Governments 3 lakhs per annum, or a total of some £37,000 a year.[1] Thus, not little by little, but by leaps and bounds, are we catching up the errors of the past, and purging our national reputation of this great stain.

It is given to but few to realise, except from books and illustrations, what the archæological treasures of India are. I know of civilians who have spent a lifetime in the country without ever seeing Agra, and who make a pilgrimage to visit it when their thirty-five years are done. A Governor-General's tours give him a unique chance, and I should have been unworthy of the task which I undertook at the first meeting of the Asiatic Society that I attended in Calcutta five years ago, had I not utilised these opportunities to visit all the great remains or groups of remains with which this country is studded from one end to the other. As a pilgrim at the shrine of beauty I have visited them, but as a priest in the temple of duty have I charged myself with their reverent custody and their studious repair.

[1] This was increased before Lord Curzon left India.

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Our labour may be said to have fallen into four main categories. First, there are the buildings which demanded a sustained policy of restoration or conservation, with most diligent attention to the designs of their original architects, so as to restore nothing that had not already existed, and to put up nothing absolutely new. For it is a cardinal principle that new work in restoration must be not only a reproduction of old work, but a part of it, only reintroduced in order to repair or to restore symmetry to the old. Of such a character has been our work at all the great centres of what is commonly known as the Indo-Saracenic style. We have, wherever this was possible, recovered and renovated the dwellings in life and the resting-places in death of those master builders the Musulman emperors and kings.

The Taj itself and all its surroundings are now all but free from the workmen's hands. It is no longer approached through dusty wastes and a squalid bazaar. A beautiful park takes their place; and the group of mosques and tombs, the arcaded streets and grassy courts, that precede the main building, are once more as nearly as possible what they were when completed by the masons of Shah Jehan. Every building in the garden enclosure of the Taj has been scrupulously repaired, and the discovery of old plans has enabled us to restore the water-channels and flower-beds of the garden more exactly to their original state. We have done the same with the remaining buildings at Agra. The exquisite mausoleum of Itmad-ud-Dowlah, the tile-enamelled gem of Chini-ka-Roza, the succession of Moghul palaces in the Fort, the noble city of Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri, his noble tomb at Sikandra,[1]—all of these have been taken in hand. Slowly they have emerged from decay and in some cases desolation, to their original perfection of form and detail: the old

[1] Lord Curzon's last work before he left India was to restore the four mutilated minarets of the great gateway at Sikandra, which had remained without their upper storeys for nearly 150 years, since they were destroyed, according to the popular belief, in the invasion of the Jats of Bhurtpore in the middle of the eighteenth century.

gardens have been restored, the old water-courses cleared out, the old balustrades renovated, the chiselled bas-reliefs repaired, and the inlaid agate, jasper, and cornelian replaced. The skilled workmen of Agra have lent themselves to the enterprise with as much zeal and taste as their forerunners 300 years ago. I have had there the assistance of two large-minded and cultured Lieutenant-Governors in the persons of Sir Antony MacDonnell and Sir James La Touche. Since I came to India we have spent upon repairs at Agra alone a sum of between £40,000 and £50,000. Every rupee has been an offering of reverence to the past and a gift of recovered beauty to the future; and I do not believe that there is a taxpayer in this country who will grudge one anna of the outlay. It will take some three or four years more to complete the task, and then Agra will be given back to the world, a pearl of great price.

At Delhi and Lahore we have attempted, or are attempting, the same. The Emperor Jehangir no longer lies in a neglected tomb at Shahdera; his grandfather, Humayun, is once again honoured at Delhi. The military authorities have agreed to evacuate all the principal Moghul buildings in the Delhi Fort, and the gardens and halls of the Emperors will soon recall their former selves. I might take you down to Rajputana and show you the restored bund along the Ana Sagar Lake. There a deserted stone embankment survived, but the marble pavilions on it had tumbled down, or been converted into modern residences. Now they stand up again in their peerless simplicity, and are reflected in the waters below. I might bring you much nearer home to Gaur and Pandua in this Province of Bengal, in the restoration of which I received the enthusiastic co-operation of the late Sir John Woodburn. A hundred and twenty years ago the tombs of the Afghan kings at Gaur were within an ace of being despoiled to provide paving-stones for St. John's Church in Calcutta. Only a few years back these wonderful remains were smothered in jungle from which they

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literally had to be cut free. If the public were fully aware of what has been done, Malda, near to which they are situated, would be an object of constant excursion from this place. We have similarly restored the Hindu temples of Bhubaneshwar near Cuttack, and the palace and temples on the rock-fortress of Rhotasgarh. At the other end of India I might conduct you to the stupendous ruins of the great Hindu capital of Vijayanagar, one of the most astonishing monuments to perished greatness; or to Bijapur, where an equally vanished Mohammedan dynasty left memorials scarcely less enduring. If I had more time to-day, I might ask you to accept my guidance to the delicate marble traceries of the Jain temples on Mount Abu, or the more stately proportions of the mosques at Jaunpur—both of which we are saving from the neglect that was already bringing portions of them to the ground; or I might take you across the Bay of Bengal to Burma, and show you King Mindon's Fort and Palace at Mandalay with their timbered halls and pavilions, which we are carefully preserving as a sample of the ceremonial and domestic architecture of the Burmese kings.

A second aspect of our work has been the recovery of buildings from profane or sacrilegious uses, and their restitution either to the faith of their founders or at least to safe custody as protected monuments. Here we have a good record. The exquisite little mosque of Sidi Sayid at Ahmedabad with the famous windows of pierced sandstone, which I found used as a tehsildar's cutcherry when first I went there, is once more cleared and intact. The Moti Musjid in the Palace at Lahore, into which I gained entrance with difficulty because the treasury was kept there in chests beneath the floor, and which was surrounded with a brick wall and iron gates, and guarded by sentries, is once more free. The Choti Khwabgah in the Fort is no longer a church; the Dewan-i-Am is no longer a barrack; the lovely tiled Dai Anga Mosque near the Lahore Railway Station has ceased to be the office of a traffic superintendent of the North-

Western Railway, and has been restored to the Mohammedan community. At Bijapur I succeeded in expelling a Dâk Bungalow from one mosque, the relics of a British Post Office from another. The mosque in the celebrated fort at Vellore in Madras is no longer tenanted by a police instructor. The superb *mantapam* or Hindu temple in the same fort is now scrupulously cared for. A hundred years ago the East India Company presented it to George IV. when Prince Regent, for erection in the grounds of the Pavilion at Brighton, and only failed to carry out their design because the ship which had been chartered for the purpose very happily went to the bottom. Next it was used as an arsenal, and finally commissariat bullocks were tethered to its pillars. At Lucknow I recovered a mosque which had been used for years as a dispensary. At Ahmedabad I have already mentioned that the marble *baradari* on the bund is no longer the dining-room of the Commissioner's house. At Mandalay the Church and the Club are under notice of removal from the gilded throne rooms of the Burmese sovereigns.

In this policy, which I have so far described in relation to monuments in British territory, I have received the most cordial support from the Indian princes in their own States. The Nizam of Hyderabad was willing to do all that I asked him—I only wish that it had been a quarter of a century earlier—for the unique caves of Ajunta and Ellora. He undertook the cataloguing and conservation of a most interesting collection of old china, copper ware, and carpets that had been lying neglected for centuries at Aurungabad in the tomb of the wife of the Emperor Aurungzeb. The Maharana of Udaipur has willingly undertaken the restoration of the exquisite Towers of Fame and Victory on the hill fort of Chitor, one of which could hardly have survived for many more years. The Maharaja Scindia threw himself with characteristic zeal into similar works in his magnificent fortress at Gwalior. The Begum of Bhopal did all that was required at the Sanchi Tope. Finally, there stands

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in the remote State of Dhar the huge rock-fortress of Mandu, certainly one of the most amazing natural spectacles in the world. Rising to a height of 1500 feet above the Nerbudda plain, it carries upon its summit, which is 30 miles round, a splendid group of deserted Mohammedan fortifications, palaces, and tombs. These we are assisting the State, which is not rich enough to assume the entire responsibility itself, to place in order. They were fast perishing, victims to the ravages of the jungle, and to unchallenged decay.[1]

There is yet another aspect of the work of conservation to which I hope that the Bill that we are about to pass will lend a helping hand. This is the custody in collections or museums of rare or interesting objects that have either been torn from their surroundings or whose surroundings have disappeared. Hon. members will be familiar with the larger museums in the capital cities of India, where are collections not without value, but, as a rule, sorely mutilated, often unidentified and uncatalogued, and sometimes abominably arranged. The plan has hitherto been to snatch up any sculptured fragment in a province or presidency and send it off to the provincial museum. This seemed to me, when I looked into it, to be all wrong. Objects of archæological interest can best be studied in relation and in close proximity to the group and style of buildings to which they belong, presuming that these are of a character and in a locality that will attract visitors. Otherwise if transferred elsewhere, they lose focus, and are apt to become meaningless. Accordingly we have started the plan of a number of local museums in places of the nature that I have described. I may instance Malda in Bengal, Pagan in Burma, the Taj at Agra, Bijapur in Bombay, and Peshawar, as localities where these institutions are being called into being,[2] and I hope that in future any local fragments

[1] The Mandu restorations will shortly be completed. They render it one of the most magnificent groups of archæological remains in the East.

[2] Also Delhi, where a museum has been opened in the Naubat-Khana of the Fort.

that may be discovered in the neighbourhood of such places, instead of being stolen, packed off, or destroyed, will find their way into these minor collections. Of course the larger provincial museums will continue to attract all classes of objects that do not easily find a local habitation.

These remarks, will, I hope, give to hon. members an idea of the scientific and steadfast policy upon which the Government has embarked in respect of archæology, and which they are invited to assist by passing this Bill to-day.

By rendering this assistance all will join in paying the debt which each of us owes to the poets, the artists, and the creators of the past. What they originated we can but restore; what they imagined we can but rescue from ruin. But the task, though humble, is worthy, and the duty, though late, is incumbent. A hundred and thirty years ago Samuel Johnson in England used to keep up a correspondence with Warren Hastings in Bengal, and in one of his letters the philosopher thus addressed the Governor-General: "I hope that you will examine nicely the traditions and histories of the East, that you will survey the corridors of its ancient edifices, and trace the vestiges of its ruined cities, and that, on your return, we shall know the arts and opinions of a race of men from whom very little has hitherto been derived." It is in this spirit that my archæological coadjutors and I have worked. All know that there is beauty in India in abundance. I like to think that there is reverence also, and that amid our struggles over the present we can join hands in pious respect for the past. I like to think, too, that this spirit will survive, and that the efforts of which I have been speaking will not slacken in the hands of our successors, until India can boast that her memorials are as tenderly prized as they are precious, and as carefully guarded as they are already, and will in the future be even more, widely known.

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ART

INDIAN ART EXHIBITION AT DELHI

ONE of the principal features of the Delhi Durbar was the Art Exhibition in the Kudsia Gardens, where a special building had been erected for the accommodation of a large collection of the finest art products of modern India. The Exhibition was opened by the Viceroy on December 30, 1902, with the following speech:—

It is now my pleasant duty to proceed to the first of the functions of the present fortnight, and to declare open the Delhi Art Exhibition. A good many of our visitors would scarcely believe that almost everything that we see before us except the trees is the creation of the last eight months. When I came here in April last to select the site there was not a trace of this great building, of these terraces, and of all the amenities that we now see around. They have all sprung into existence for the sake of this Exhibition, and though the effects of the Exhibition will, I hope, not be so quickly wiped out, the *mise en scène* is, I am sorry to say, destined to disappear.

Perhaps you will expect me to say a few words about the circumstances in which this Exhibition started into being. Ever since I have been in India I have made a careful study of the art industries and handicrafts of this country, once so famous and beautiful, and I have lamented, as many others have done, their progressive deterioration and decline. When it was settled that we

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were to hold this great gathering at Delhi, at which there would be assembled representatives of every Province and State of India, Indian princes and chiefs and nobles, high officials, native gentlemen, and visitors from all parts of the globe, it struck me that here at last was the long-sought opportunity of doing something to resuscitate these threatened handicrafts, to show to the world of what India is still capable, and, if possible, to arrest the process of decay. I accordingly sent for Dr. Watt,[1] and I appointed him my right hand for the purpose. Far and wide throughout India have he and his assistant, Mr. Percy Brown, proceeded, travelling thousands of miles, everywhere interviewing the artisans, selecting specimens, giving orders, where necessary supplying models, and advancing money to those who needed it. Three conditions I laid down to be observed like the laws of the Medes and Persians.

First, I stipulated that this must be an Art Exhibition, and nothing else. We could easily have given you a wonderful show illustrating the industrial and economic development of India. Dr. Watt has such an exhibition, and a very good one too, at Calcutta.[2] We could have shown you timbers, and minerals, and raw stuffs, and hides, and manufactured articles to any extent that you pleased. It would all have been very satisfying, but also very ugly. But I did not want that. I did not mean this to be an industrial or economic Exhibition. I meant it to be an Art Exhibition, and that only.

My second condition was that I would not have anything European or quasi-European in it. I declined to admit any of those horrible objects, such as lamps on gorgeous pedestals, coloured-glass lustres, or fantastic statuettes, that find such a surprising vogue among certain classes in this country, but that are bad anywhere in the world, and worst of all in India, which has

[1] Reporter on Economic Products to the Government of India; now Sir G. Watt.

[2] This is the collection in the Imperial Museum.

an art of its own. I laid down that I wanted only the work that represented the ideas, the traditions, the instincts, and the beliefs of the people. It is possible that a few articles that do not answer to my definition may have crept in, because the process of Europeanisation is going on apace in this country, and the number of teapots, cream jugs, napkin rings, salt cellars, and cigarette cases that the Indian artisan is called upon to turn out is appalling. But, generally speaking, my condition has been observed.

Then my third condition was that I would only have the best. I did not want cheap cottons and waxcloths, vulgar lacquer, trinkets and tinsel, brass gods and bowls made to order in Birmingham, or perhaps made in Birmingham itself. What I desired was an exhibition of all that is rare, characteristic, or beautiful in Indian art, our gold and silver ware, our metal work and enamels and jewellery, in carving in wood and ivory and stone, our best pottery and tiles, our carpets of old Oriental patterns, our muslins and silks and embroideries, and the incomparable Indian brocades. All of these you will see inside this building. But please remember it is not a bazaar, but an Exhibition. Our object has been to encourage and revive good work, not to satisfy the requirements of the thinly lined purse.

Such is the general character of the Exhibition. But we have added to it something much more important. Conscious that taste is declining, and that many of our modern models are debased and bad, we have endeavoured to set up alongside the products of the present the standards and samples of the past. This is the meaning of the Loan Collection, which has a hall to itself, in which you will see many beautiful specimens of old Indian art ware, lent to us by the generosity of Indian chiefs and connoisseurs, some of it coming from our own Indian museums, and some from the unrivalled collection in the South Kensington Museum in London. Many of these objects are beautiful in themselves; but we hope that the Indian workmen who are here, and

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also the patrons who employ them, will study them not merely as objects of antiquarian or even artistic interest, but as supplying them with fresh or rather resuscitated ideas which may be useful to them in inspiring their own work in the future. For this may be laid down as a truism, that Indian art will never be revived by borrowing foreign ideals, but only by fidelity to its own.

And now I may be asked, What is the object of this Exhibition, and what good do I expect to result from it? I will answer in a very few words. In so far as the decline of the Indian arts represents the ascendency of commercialism, the superiority of steam power to hand power, the triumph of the test of utility over that of taste, then I have not much hope. We are witnessing in India only one aspect of a process that is going on throughout the world, that has long ago extinguished the old manual industries of England, and that is rapidly extinguishing those of China and Japan. Nothing can stop it. The power-loom will drive out the hand-loom, and the factory will get the better of the workshop, just as surely as the steam-car is superseding the horse-carriage, and as the hand-pulled punkah is being replaced by the electric fan. All that is inevitable, and in an age which wants things cheap and does not mind their being ugly, which cares a good deal for comfort and not much for beauty, and which is never happy unless it is deserting its own models and traditions, and running about in quest of something foreign and strange, we may be certain that a great many of the old arts and handicrafts are doomed.

There is another symptom that to my mind is even more ominous. I am one of those, as I have said, who believe that no national art is capable of continued existence unless it satisfies the ideals, and expresses the wants, of the nation that has produced it. No art can be kept alive by globe-trotters or curio-hunters alone. If it has got to that point, it becomes a mere mechanical reproduction of certain fashionable patterns; and when

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fashion changes, and they cease to be popular, it dies. If Indian art, therefore, is to continue to flourish, or is to be revived, it can only be if the Indian chiefs and aristocracy, and people of culture and high degree, undertake to patronise it. So long as they prefer to fill their palaces with flaming Brussels carpets, with Tottenham Court Road furniture,[1] with cheap Italian mosaics, with French oleographs, with Austrian lustres, and with German tissues and cheap brocades, I fear there is not much hope. I speak in no terms of reproach, because I think that in England we are just as bad in our pursuit of anything that takes our fancy in foreign lands. But I do say that if Indian arts and handicrafts are to be kept alive, it can never be by outside patronage alone. It can only be because they find a market within the country and express the ideas and culture of its people. I should like to see a movement spring up among the Indian chiefs and nobility for the expurgation, or at any rate the purification, of modern tastes, and for a reversion to the old-fashioned but exquisite styles and patterns of their own country. Some day I have not a doubt that it will come. But it may then be too late.

If these are the omens, what then is the aim of this Exhibition, and what purpose do I think that it will serve? I can answer in a word. The Exhibition is intended as an object-lesson. It is meant to show what India can still imagine, and create, and do. It is meant to show that the artistic sense is not dead among its workmen, but that all they want is a little stimulus and encouragement. It is meant to show that for the beautification of an Indian house or the furniture of an Indian home there is no need to rush to the European shops at Calcutta or Bombay, but that in almost every Indian State and Province, in most Indian towns, and

[1] This passage produced an indignant protest from Messrs. Maple and Co., of Tottenham Court Road, who retorted that they had provided furniture for Viceregal Lodge at Simla! It did not occur to them that what may be suitable in an English mansion occupied by an English family in India may be singularly out of place in an Oriental palace inhabited by Orientals living in the Oriental style.

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in many Indian villages, there still survives the art and there still exist the artificers who can satisfy the artistic as well as the utilitarian tastes of their countrymen, and who are competent to keep alive this precious inheritance that we have received from the past. It is with this object that Dr. Watt and I have laboured in creating this Exhibition; and in now declaring it open, it only remains for me to express the earnest hope that it may in some measure fulfil the strictly patriotic purpose for which it has been designed.

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 25, 1903

Hon. members may like to hear something of the results of the Art Exhibition which we held at Delhi, and which was designed exclusively in the interests of the indigenous arts and industries of this country. What effect the Exhibition will have upon the future of Indian art it is of course impossible as yet to determine. But that it had a wonderful success in calling the attention of the outside public, foreign as well as native, to the still vital capacities of Indian art, is, I think, certain. Though the Exhibition was open but a short time, no fewer than 48,000 persons paid for admission, the cash sales amounted to over 3 lakhs of rupees, and the total receipts to more than 4 lakhs. The building cost something more than 1½ lakhs; and, apart from that, the net cost of the Exhibition was only ½ lakh. I think, therefore, that we may fairly claim, for a very moderate outlay, to have given an impetus to Indian art which ought not to fade away, while the presence in so many museums and private collections of the beautiful objects that were purchased from the Exhibition ought to act as a timely advertisement to the still unexhausted skill of our craftsmen and artisans.

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BURMA

DURBAR AT MANDALAY

On November 28, 1901, the Viceroy held a Durbar in the West Throne-Room of the Palace of Mandalay for the reception of the thirty chiefs of the Southern Shan States, who had come into Mandalay for the purpose, and of the chief notables and other native gentlemen of Burma. He addressed the Durbar as follows:—

My first and most pleasing duty at this Durbar has already been discharged. It has consisted in the presentation of titles and awards of merit to certain of the chiefs of the Southern Shan States, and to a number of Burman gentlemen and officers of police, for services rendered in their several callings. The distribution of honours is one of the most delicate of the duties that devolve upon the head of the Government of India. But, laborious and often invidious as is the task of selecting the few who are most deserving among the many who are deserving, I can say for myself that the reward of merit, more particularly if it be unselfish and unostentatious merit, is one of the most agreeable prerogatives that attach to high administrative office. It gives me the most genuine satisfaction to pick out some worthy recipient for the recognition of Government or the favour of the Crown, especially if he has laboured in comparative remoteness or obscurity; and my pleasure is certainly enhanced when, in these or other cases, I am permitted,

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as I have been to-day, to be the vehicle of presentation myself.

The whole of the chiefs of the Southern Shan States, from as far east as Keng Tung, and as far south as Karenni, have passed before me this afternoon, in addition to those who have received special marks of distinction. The area which they inhabit, amounting to over 40,000 square miles, with a population of 800,000 persons, is one of the undeveloped assets of the future. Its people are keen traders, the soil is fertile and capable of producing many sorts of grain, valuable minerals lie hidden beneath the surface. In fifteen years it has passed, under the able management of Mr. Hildebrand—who, I am sorry to say, is leaving you before long—from a state of chronic rapine and disorder to tranquillity and contentment. In this work he has been assisted by the enlightened attitude of many of the chiefs, who, instead of spending their time in raiding each other's states and killing each other's people, as their forefathers would have done, now compete with each other in carrying out works of public utility and in opening up their country by means of roads. A school is also about to be opened at Taunggyi for the special education of the sons and relatives of the chiefs, and, if they are wise in their generation, as I take them to be, they will not fail to profit by the advantages which it will confer. One day in the future you will get railway connection with the main Burma lines; the Southern Shan States will become a great exporting area; and some later Viceroy will come and see you in your homes, and congratulate you on your prosperous and remunerative partnership in the Indian Empire.

I now turn to the main body of those whom I am addressing, and who represent the inhabitants of Upper Burma in general." This province cannot fail to present special attractions to any Viceroy of India, so recent is its acquisition, so remarkable what has already been accomplished, so promising its future. It is especially interesting to one who has made the frontiers of Empire

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his peculiar study, and who knows no spectacle more absorbing than that of Oriental peoples passing by a steady progress from backwardness to civilisation, without at the same time forfeiting the religious creed, the traditions, or the national characteristics of their race. Here in Upper Burma both extremes of this process may be observed; for, on the one hand, in the settled tracts are an intelligent and tractable race, immersed in agriculture or business, and living under the sway of one of the oldest and most cultured of religions; on the other hand, one has only to proceed to the north-eastern border to encounter tribes who still derive pleasure from cutting off each other's heads. I doubt if the north-western frontier of India, which I know well, presents features more diversified than yours on the north-east. The frontiers of Upper Burma touch those of China and Assam; they bring the territories of Great Britain into contiguity with the Asiatic dominions of France; they extend to the boundaries of Manipur and Assam; and they shade away on the north into unvisited tracts peopled by unknown and semi-savage tribes. Here is a situation and a task that will occupy the genius of the British race for many a long day to come. A hundred years hence Upper Burma, with its immense resources developed, its waterways utilised, its communications improved, its population many times multiplied, and peace reigning from the Hukong Valley to the Gulf of Martaban, and from the Lushai Hills to Yunnan, will be as much unlike its present condition as the Bengal of to-day is unlike the Bengal of Warren Hastings. Your population in the Upper Province, excluding the Shan States, is less than four millions. With a temperate climate, a fertile soil, cheap and abundant food, and practical immunity from famine, I see no reason why it should not one day be fourteen millions. I wish that I could live to see it. But as that is impossible, I rejoice to think of what remains for those who come after me to do, and that not for many generations will India fail within its borders to provide my countrymen with

the work for which their instincts seem especially to fit them among the nations of the earth.

In Upper Burma the stages of your evolution have been relatively rapid. In the sixteen years that have elapsed since annexation I detect four distinct landmarks of advance. First came the era of conquest, which was shortly and swiftly achieved. Next came the period of disorder and guerilla warfare, following upon conquest, in which, upon a larger scale and on a much wider stage, our troops are now engaged in South Africa, and which here also was not without its vicissitudes and its trials. Next came the task of internal reconstruction in the newly acquired territories, of instituting a proper system of land records and land assessments, of providing for the due administration of civil and criminal justice, of organising an efficient police, of encouraging the marked aptitudes of the people for education, of making roads, bridges, and railways, of extending the post and the telegraph, of building hospitals and dispensaries, of diffusing the benefits of vaccination and sanitation, of developing agriculture and spreading irrigation, of pacifying the hill tracts and tranquillising the tribes. Finally, and simultaneously with the third, comes the fourth stage of development, in which the lack of wealth in the country requires to be supplemented from the outside, enabling your wonderful resources in timber, in oil, and in gems to be exploited by organised enterprise and capital. Practically the whole of these stages in your recent history have been supervised by your present Lieutenant-Governor. I cannot conceive a prouder reflection with which an Indian administrator can leave these shores, as in the course of next year Sir F. Fryer will be called upon to do, than that he has nursed so sturdy a child of Empire from childhood to adolescence. He has been in the position of a sculptor who is given the choicest block of marble, and is bidden to shape it to whatever in the art of statuary his own imagination or the capacity of the material may suggest.

Statistics are always considered to be rather a repellent

study; but they sometimes illustrate, in a concrete form and with tell-tale directness, an argument or a proposition; and they are, after all, the quarry from which the historian of the future must hew. If any one, therefore, here present desires to be convinced that I have not been dealing in unsupported generalisations, I may inform him that since annexation the revenue of Upper Burma has increased from 56 lakhs to 141½ lakhs, and that the population during the last decade has increased by nearly 500,000, or between 14 and 15 per cent. If he is disposed to identify the progress of a country with the opening of communications, he will like to know that, whereas Upper Burma had not a single mile of railway in 1886, it now possesses 850 miles; and that over 3000 miles of road are now open in the province, of which 700 are the work of the past five years. If he is an apostle of irrigation, he will be gratified at the impending opening of the Mandalay Canal, executed at a cost of nearly 50 lakhs, and destined to irrigate 100,000 acres. If he is not satisfied with this, he may be pleased to learn that the Shwebo Canal, which will cost about the same amount, has already been begun, and that the Mon Canals on a similar scale will follow—these three works when completed costing little short of one million sterling. If my friend to whom I am referring is a champion of law and order, he may take pride in the fact that so well behaved is the Upper Province that in 1900 there were only 145 cases of violent crime, as compared with more than three times the number in Lower Burma. Finally, if he is a Burman patriot, I would invite him to facilitate the efforts which are being made by the British Government to employ the Burmans in the administration of their country, by inducing them to take every advantage of the educational facilities which are every day being offered to them in a greater degree.

I have only one further reflection to add; and I address it to those persons in this audience, and through them to the wider outside public, who belong to the Burman race. Because the British have come to this country and have

introduced the reforms of which I have been speaking, we do not, therefore, wish that the people should lose the characteristics and traditions, in so far as they are good, of their own race. It is a difficult thing, as I have often said elsewhere, to fuse the East and West; but no fusion can be effected by suppression of national habits and traits. The Burmans were celebrated in former times for their sense of respect—respect for parents, respect for elders, respect for teachers, respect for those in authority. No society can exist in a healthy state without reverence. It is the becoming tribute paid by the inferior to the superior, whether his superiority be in position, in rank, or in age, and it is the foundation-stone of civic duty. I should think the advantages of the education which we give you dearly paid for if they were accompanied by any weakening in these essential ties. Again, if civilisation were found to encourage a taste for such pursuits as betting and gambling, or in any way to depreciate the standards of commercial honour, I should think that it had not succeeded in its aim.

There is another respect in which I beg of you not to be diverted from your old practices. You have, as I have said, a venerable and a famous religion whose relics are scattered throughout the East and whose temples are among the beauties of the Oriental world. But it is of no use to build pagodas unless you maintain them, and a powerful and popular religion is not well represented by crumbling and dilapidated shrines. Similar thoughts are suggested by your art and your architecture, once so fanciful, so ingenious, and so picturesque, but now in grave danger of being undermined. The main reason for which I ordered the preservation and restoration of the building in a part of which I am now speaking, is that a model of the ceremonial architecture of this country might survive; for I felt certain that if it disappeared, as before long it would otherwise tend to do, its place would never be taken by anything similar in design or structure, but, if at all, by something new, and in all probability hideous. If, however, your art and

your architecture, your delicate wood-carving, your silver-work and lacquer-work and painting, are to survive, they cannot be fostered by external patronage alone: they must rest upon the unprostituted tastes and traditions of the nation, and upon the continued support of your own selves. My concluding words, therefore, to the Burmans to-day are these—keep that which is best in your religious faith, in your national character and traditions, and in the pursuits and accomplishments of your race. The most loyal subject of the King-Emperor in Burma, the Burman whom I would most like to honour, is not the cleverest mimic of a European, but the man who is truest to all that is most simple, most dutiful, and of best repute in the instincts and the customs of an ancient and attractive people.

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CHIEFS AND PRINCES OF INDIA

STATE BANQUET AT GWALIOR

On November 29, 1899, Lord Curzon delivered the following speech at the State Banquet on the occasion of his first visit to the Maharaja Scindia at Gwalior. It was the first of the speeches in which the Viceroy outlined the policy towards the Native States, and it has frequently been quoted in consequence.

In rising to thank His Highness for the agreeable manner in which he has proposed the health of Lady Curzon and myself, I feel that I am enjoying one of the happiest experiences of an Indian Viceroy in coming for the first time as a guest to the Ruler and the State of Gwalior. There is in this place such a pleasing and uncommon blend of old-world interest with the liveliest spirit of modern progress, and one hardly knows whether the imaginative or the practical side of nature is more thrilled by all that one sees and hears. The official visits of Viceroys to Native States are sometimes deprecated on the score of the ceremonial, and perhaps costly formalities, which they involve, and of their time-honoured attributes of pomp and display. I am not inclined to share these views. To me personally there is no more interesting part of my Indian work than the opportunities which are presented to me, on tour or elsewhere, of an introduction to the acquaintance, and, as I fondly hope, to the confidence, of the native Princes and Chiefs of India; and if these Princes prefer, as I believe

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they do prefer, to receive the representative of the sovereign whom they all acknowledge, and for whom they entertain a profound and chivalrous devotion, with a dignity becoming both to his position and to their own rank, I think that he would be a captious and sour-minded critic who were to deny them an opportunity which I believe to be as highly appreciated by their subjects as it is valued by themselves.

The spectacle and the problem of the Native States of India are indeed a subject that never loses its fascination for my mind. Side by side with our own system, and sometimes almost surrounded by British territory, there are found in this wonderful country the possessions, the administration, the proud authority, and the unchallenged traditions of the native dynasties[1] — a combination which, both in the picturesque variety of its contrast, and still more in the smooth harmony of its operation, is, I believe, without parallel in the history of the world. The British Government, alone of Governments, has succeeded in the wise policy of building up the security and safeguarding the rights of its feudatory principalities; and to this are due the stability of their organisation and the loyalty of their rulers. I rejoice wherever I go to scrutinise the practical outcome of this policy, to observe the States consolidated, the chiefs powerful, and their privileges unimpaired.

But I also do not hesitate to say, wherever I go, that a return is owing for these advantages, and that security cannot be repaid by license, or the guarantee of rights by the unchartered exercise of wrong. The Native Chief has become, by our policy, an integral factor in the Imperial organisation of India. He is concerned not less than the Viceroy or the Lieutenant-Governor in the administration of the country. I claim him as my colleague and partner. He cannot remain *vis-à-vis* of the Empire a loyal subject of Her Majesty the Queen-

[1] There are in all some 600 Native States in India, but the vast majority of these are insignificant in size and status, and only about 100 are of importance.

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Empress, and *vis-à-vis* of his own people a frivolous or irresponsible despot. He must justify and not abuse the authority committed to him; he must be the servant as well as the master of his people. He must learn that his revenues are not secured to him for his own selfish gratification, but for the good of his subjects; that his internal administration is only exempt from correction in proportion as it is honest; and that his *gadi* is not intended to be a divan of indulgence, but the stern seat of duty. His figure should not merely be known on the polo-ground, or on the race-course, or in the European hotel. These may be his relaxations, and I do not say that they are not legitimate relaxations; but his real work, his princely duty, lies among his own people. By this standard shall I, at any rate, judge him. By this test will he in the long run, as a political institution, perish or survive.

It is with the greater freedom that I venture upon these remarks on the present occasion because I do not know anywhere of a Prince who better exemplifies their application, or who shows a more consistent tendency to act up to the ideal which I have sketched, than the young Maharaja whose splendid hospitality we are enjoying this evening. Before I arrived in India I had heard of his public spirit, his high sense of duty, his devotion to the interests of his country. During my first few days in Calcutta I had, as he has mentioned, the pleasure of making his acquaintance; and now in his own State the opportunity is presented to me of improving it, which I very highly prize, and of seeing at first hand the excellent work which he is doing in almost every branch of administration.

The Maharaja appears to me, from all I have heard, to have realised that the secret of successful government is personality. If he expects his officials to follow an example, he himself must set it. If he desires to conquer torpor or apathy, he must exhibit enthusiasm. Everywhere he must be to his people the embodiment of sympathetic interest, of personal authority, of dis-

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passionate zeal. There is no position to which a Prince who fulfils this conception may not aspire in the affections of his countrymen, and there is scarcely any limit to his capacity of useful service to the State.

[The remainder of the speech, which was of personal and local interest, is omitted.]

STATE BANQUET AT JAIPUR

In the course of his official tour through Rajputana the Viceroy visited Jaipur, and was entertained at a State Banquet by the Maharaja on November 28, 1902. In proposing the Viceroy's health the Maharaja made a speech of so much importance with regard to Lord Curzon's policy towards the Native States, and the feelings of the Indian Princes, that, as a special exception, it is printed here in full:—

"Since my accession to the *gadi* in September 1880, I have had the good fortune to receive and entertain many Viceroys, who have honoured me and my State by their visits; but I am especially delighted to welcome Your Excellency and Her Excellency Lady Curzon to my capital, as for the last four years I have been privileged to enjoy frequent interviews which have been accorded to me by Your Excellency in spite of your heavy work and engagements.

"It is just three years to a day since Your Excellency made a memorable speech at Gwalior, in which you claimed us Chiefs as your colleagues and partners in the work of administration. This I felt to be a very high compliment to all Chiefs who work hard to keep their States prosperous and their people happy.

"With the permission of Your Excellency, I would beg to say that I have a great partiality for the old customs and the religious traditions of my country, on which are based the very foundations of the Hindu religion. I always prefer to tread in the footsteps of my forefathers; and this I think tends to bind me more and more closely to my people and country. At the same time, my Rajput instincts and religious teaching have always inspired me with unfeigned loyalty to the Paramount

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Power. My leanings to the old institutions of my country have led people to consider me old-fashioned, and as I grow older and see the changes around me, even in Rajputana, the land of India's ancient glory, I sometimes feel sad and despondent, and feel like a man living in a thatched shed when his neighbours' sheds have caught fire. But the reading of Your Excellency's speech quite cheered me, and I know it must have cheered my brother chiefs too, to realise that Your Excellency looked on us as something more than interesting historical institutions. It showed us that we had our place in this great Indian land, and that we should be encouraged and helped to keep our place in spite of our conservative tendencies. I cannot sufficiently thank you for this and other wise and true things which Your Excellency has told us about being loyal to our religion, traditions, and people. I cannot resist the temptation of quoting a few words from Your Excellency's speech at Rajkot to the assembled chiefs and pupils of the Rajkumar College in November 1900. Your Excellency said, 'While you are proud to acquire the accomplishments of English gentlemen, do not forget that you are Indian nobles or Indian princes. Let the land of your birth have a superior claim upon you to the language of your adoption.' I am thoroughly in accord with these wise remarks, and I think it would be well if they were taken to heart by all the nobles and princes of India. Though I do not know English, I have had all Your Excellency's speeches translated to me, and have derived from them both encouragement and strength.

"I cannot omit mentioning that I have recently received further encouragement by my visit to England, where I went as a Hindu and Rajput Chief determined to observe all my own customs and ways, even in a foreign country. It was a keen pleasure to me to observe that the good and kind people of England liked me none the worse for clinging closely to the ways of my fathers.

"Your Excellency's words, and still more Your Excellency's deeds, in founding the Cadet Corps and in improving the education given at the Mayo College and other similar institutions in India, and your many acts of kindness and consideration towards us, prove that Your Excellency is one of the best friends of the Ruling Chiefs of India, and I can only say, and say it from my heart, that I would do anything to deserve such a friendship.

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"I cannot close my speech without referring to the great ceremony that is going to take place at Delhi a few weeks hence. I had the honour of witnessing the Coronation of His Majesty King Edward VII., Emperor of India, and of Her Majesty Queen Alexandra. The solemn and imposing ceremony made the deepest impression on my mind, and, I can safely say, on the minds of all my brother chiefs who were present there. The great gathering at Delhi will celebrate the same occasion, and I feel it would be a great mistake were so important an event to be ignored or only superficially honoured in my own dear country. Moreover, the ceremonies now contemplated at Delhi are entirely in accordance with Hindu ideas both from the State and religious standpoints. Our own ancient books contain many graphic and interesting accounts of the pomp and pageantry attending upon the coronation of the kings of those days.

"Since the British rule became paramount in India no such opportunity as the present has ever occurred, and it is our duty as well as our pleasure to participate in the ceremonies proposed, which should be devised on a scale befitting so great an occasion. In this way alone can our King-Emperor understand the deep and real feeling of loyalty which inspires the chiefs of India and their peoples. Few study ceremonials more carefully than myself, and I say, after a close consideration of the programme which has been ordained for the Coronation Durbar at Delhi, that in view of the unique nature of the occasion—the crowning of a King-Emperor,—of the vastness of the gathering, and of the many changes wrought by railways and other agencies, no more sensible and considerate programme could have been devised. It is for a special occasion, and it in no wise detracts from our privileges and honours. We are all looking forward to meeting Your Excellency there as the representative of the Sovereign to whom we unite in loyalty and devotion. In my view, the princes of India will derive great benefit from taking part in such a ceremony."

The Viceroy replied as follows:—

It seems to me a not unbecoming thing that the last visit that I should pay upon this tour in Rajputana should be to this celebrated State, that the last of the Rajput Chiefs by whom I should have the honour of being entertained should be one so imbued with the

highest traditions and aspirations of his race as the Maharaja of Jaipur, and that the concluding speech of my tour should be delivered in reply to remarks of so striking a character and so notable an importance as those to which we have just listened. At the end of my fourth year of office I now have the pleasure of knowing the large majority of the Princes and Chiefs of India; and I rejoice to learn from the lips of one so well qualified to speak on their behalf that they recognise in me a devoted well-wisher and friend. I do not merely say this as the representative of the Sovereign to whom their loyalty is so warm, and whom they vie with each other in honouring in the person of his deputy. I speak as the head of the Indian Administration, and as the champion of the interests of India itself—in which the welfare and security of its chiefs are wrapped up and involved.

Your Highness has reminded me that three years ago I claimed the Indian Chiefs as my colleagues and partners in the task of Indian administration.[1] It is as such, as fellow-workers in their several exalted stations, that I have ever since continued to treat and to regard them. On many occasions I have discussed with them the conditions and circumstances of their own government, and on others, as Your Highness knows full well, I have sought and obtained their co-operation and advice. I have often recapitulated the benefits which in my view the continued existence of the Native States confers upon Indian society. Amid the levelling tendencies of the age and the inevitable monotony of government conducted upon scientific lines, they keep alive the traditions and customs, they sustain the virility, and they save from extinction the picturesqueness of ancient and noble races. They have that indefinable quality, endearing them to the people, that arises from their being born of the soil. They provide scope for the activities of the hereditary aristocracy of the country, and employment for native intellect and ambition. Above all, I realise, more perhaps in Rajputana than

[1] *Vide* p. 237.

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anywhere else, that they constitute a school of manners, valuable to the Indian, and not less valuable to the European, showing in the person of their chiefs that illustrious lineage has not ceased to implant noble and chivalrous ideas, and maintaining those old-fashioned and punctilious standards of public spirit and private courtesy which have always been instinctive in the Indian aristocracy, and with the loss of which, if ever they be allowed to disappear, Indian society will go to pieces like a dismasted vessel in a storm.

It sometimes seems to be thought, because the British Government exercises political control over these States —which is the reverse side of the security that we guarantee to them,—that we desire of a deliberate purpose to Anglicise the Feudatory States in India. That is no part of my idea, and it has most certainly been no feature of my practice. We want their administration to be conducted upon business principles and with economy. We want public works to be developed and the education and welfare of the poorer classes considered. We want to diminish the openings for money-grabbing, corruption, or oppression. We want a Native State, when famine comes, to treat it both with method and with generosity. In so far as these standards have been developed by British rule in this country, may they be called English. But if any one thinks that we want to overrun Native States with Englishmen, or to stamp out the idiosyncrasies of native thought and custom, then he is strangely mistaken. Englishmen are often required to start some public undertaking or to introduce some essential reform. In industrial and mineral development, and in scientific work in general, outside enterprise is in many cases absolutely indispensable, since the resources of the State might otherwise remain unutilised and unexplored. What good work is capable of being done by an Englishman in a Native State may be illustrated by the career of an officer present at this table to-night, whom I had the pleasure of recommending recently for the title that he now bears, namely, Sir Swinton Jacob. Such

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work—modest, unobtrusive, characterised by fidelity to the highest traditions of the British public service, and yet also by perfect loyalty to the State—is a model that may anywhere be held up for example. But we cannot always be sure of a succession of Sir Swinton Jacobs; and accordingly, whenever I lend a British officer administratively to a Native State, one of his main functions in my view should be to train up natives of the State to succeed him; for there is no spectacle which finds less favour in my eyes, or which I have done more to discourage, than that of a cluster of Europeans settling down upon a Native State and sucking from it the moisture which ought to give sustenance to its own people.

Similarly, if a Native State is ruled well in its own way, I would not insist that it should be ruled a little better in the English way. A natural organism that has grown by slow degrees to an advanced stage of development has probably a healthier flow of life-blood in its veins than one which is of artificial growth or foreign importation. Therefore it gives me pleasure to visit a part of India where these old fashions still survive as in Rajputana, and still more to be the guest of a Chief like Your Highness, whose State is ruled efficiently and well, but ruled upon native lines. The British in this country have already rendered a great service to Rajputana in the past; for it was by their intervention in the first twenty years of the last century that the Rajput principalities were saved from ruin just when they were in danger of being overwhelmed by the mercenary hordes of the Mahrattas and the Pathans. But for the action of Lord Wellesley and Lord Hastings and for the treaties that they made, Rajputana, as a distinct political unit, would have been wiped out of existence. For that service the Rajput Chiefs have always been profoundly grateful, and they have repaid it by unswerving loyalty to the British Crown. But it would be a thousand pities if, having thus saved Rajputana from the break-up of war and rapine, we were now to see this aristocratic

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structure and these ancient institutions go to pieces under the scarcely less disintegrating influences of prosperity and peace. I would fain hope that this ancient society, which was never absorbed by the Moghul, and which has stood the strain of centuries of conflict and siege, may learn so to adapt itself to the conditions of the age as to find in the British sovereignty the sure guarantee of its liberties and traditions, as well as a trustworthy guide on the pathway of administrative progress and reform.

Your Highness knows also that I have made no concealment of what are my views as to the character and duty of native Chiefs. Those views have not always been popular, and I have often seen them misrepresented or misunderstood. My ideal has never been the butterfly that flits aimlessly from flower to flower, but the working bee that builds its own hive and makes its own honey. To such a man all my heart goes out in sympathy and admiration. He is dear to his own people, and dear to the Government whom I represent. Sometimes I cast my eyes into the future ; and I picture a state of society in which the Indian Princes, trained to all the advantages of Western culture, but yet not divorced in instinct or in mode of life from their own people, will fill an even ampler part than at present in the administration of this Empire. I would dearly like to see that day. But it will not come if an Indian Chief is at liberty to be a spendthrift or an idler or an absentee. It can only come if, as Your Highness has said, he remains true to his religion, his traditions, and his people.

Your Highness, if I may say so, has set a noble example of what such a ruler may be and do. We know your princely munificence in respect of the Famine Trust and many other good works ; and we are aware of your single-hearted devotion to the interests of your State. When I persuaded Your Highness to go to England as the chosen representative of Rajputana at the Coronation of the King, you felt some hesitation as to the sharp separation from your home and from the

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duties and practices of your previous life. But you have returned fortified with the conviction that dignity and simplicity of character, and uprightness and magnanimity of conduct, are esteemed by the nobility and people in England not less than they are here. I hope that Your Highness's example may be followed by those who come after you, and that it may leave an enduring mark in Indian history.

In the concluding observations of your speech, Your Highness alluded to the forthcoming Durbar at Delhi to celebrate the Coronation of His Majesty the King; and I was beyond measure gratified when I heard you say, on behalf of the princely class whom you represent, that after a close consideration of the proposals that have been made for the participation of the Indian Chiefs, you entirely approve of their nature. I can scarcely describe to Your Highness the anxious labour that I have devoted to these arrangements. My one desire, as Your Highness knows, since I have explained it by circular letter to all the Chiefs, has been that the Indian Princes, instead of being mere spectators of the ceremony, as they were in 1877, should be actors in it. It is their King-Emperor, as well as mine and ours, whose Coronation is being celebrated; and it seemed to me entirely wrong that the Chiefs should sit or stand outside, as though it were a function that only affected the Viceroy or the British officials in this country, but had no concern for them. The Durbar is not the Viceroy's Durbar. It is held for the Sovereign, and the Sovereign alone; and it is to mark the feelings that are entertained towards him by all the Princes of India without exception that I have invited their personal participation in these great and imposing events. So far should I be from seeking to detract from the honour of the Chiefs that my one preoccupation has been to add to it. I am glad that Your Highness has so thoroughly understood and so generously appreciated my desires; and I have every reason to hope that a successful realisation will lie before them.

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INSTALLATION OF NAWAB OF BAHAWALPUR

On November 12, 1903, the Viceroy visited Bahawalpur in order to invest His Highness Nawab Muhammad Bahawal Khan Bahadur with full powers of administration as Ruling Chief of the State. The ceremony took place in the Durbar Hall of the Palace, and the Viceroy spoke as follows:—

I have come to Bahawalpur in order to instal the young Nawab upon the *musnud* of his State. This is the leading Mohammedan principality in the north of India, and I felt that I should like to offer to the State and to its ruler the same marks of official and personal interest as I have done to Hindu States and to Hindu Princes in other parts of the country. The occasion is official, for it is as representative of the Sovereign that I am about to invest the young chief with full powers of administration; but it is personal also, for I desire to testify to the Nawab and to his people my keen interest in his welfare and my hopes for his future.

When the British Crown, through the Viceroy, and the Indian Princes, in the person of one of their number, are brought together on an occasion of so much importance as an installation ceremony, it is not unnatural that we should reflect for a moment on the nature of the ties that are responsible for this association. They are peculiar and significant; and, so far as I know, they have no parallel in any other country in the world. The political system of India is neither Feudalism nor Federation; it is embodied in no Constitution; it does not always rest upon Treaty; and it bears no resemblance to a League. It represents a series of relationships that have grown up between the Crown and the Indian Princes under widely differing historical conditions, but which in process of time have gradually conformed to a single type. The sovereignty of the Crown is everywhere unchallenged. It has itself laid down the limita-

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tions of its own prerogative. Conversely the duties and the service of the States are implicitly recognised, and as a rule faithfully discharged. It is this happy blend of authority with free-will, of sentiment with self-interest, of duties with rights, that distinguishes the Indian Empire under the British Crown from any other dominion of which we read in history. The links that hold it together are not iron fetters that have been forged for the weak by the strong; neither are they artificial couplings that will snap asunder the moment that any unusual strain is placed upon them; but they are silken strands that have been woven into a strong cable by the mutual instincts of pride and duty, of self-sacrifice and esteem.

It is scarcely possible to imagine circumstances more different than those of the Indian Chiefs now from what they were at the time when Queen Victoria came to the throne. Then they were suspicious of each other, mistrustful of the Paramount Power, distracted with personal intrigues and jealousies, indifferent or selfish in their administration, and unconscious of any wider duty or Imperial aim. Now their sympathies have expanded with their knowledge, and their sense of responsibility with the degree of confidence reposed in them. They recognise their obligations to their own States, and their duty to the Imperial throne. The British Crown is no longer an impersonal abstraction, but a concrete and inspiring force. They have become figures on a great stage instead of actors in petty parts.

In my view, as this process has gone on, the Princes have gained in prestige instead of losing it. Their rank is not diminished, but their privileges have become more secure. They have to do more for the protection that they enjoy, but they also derive more from it; for they are no longer detached appendages of Empire, but its participators and instruments. They have ceased to be the architectural adornments of the Imperial edifice, and have become the pillars that help to sustain the main roof.

Such is the character of the office to which this young Chief succeeds, and in whose privileges and responsibilities I am about to induct him. I do not know of any fairer prospect than that which opens up before such a man. He starts with the support of Government, with the affection of his people, and with the good-will of all. In the present case the Nawab has material advantages as well. His State is solvent; there are reserve balances in the Treasury of more than two years' total revenue; he himself has profited by education at one of the Chiefs' Colleges, where he distinguished himself, and he has since shown that he possesses unusual aptitudes for administration. He seems to me to be beginning his public career under an auspicious star.

I do not say that no difficulties attend the path of the young Chief. On the contrary, I think that they are many and perplexing. There is the difficulty of reconciling fidelity to the traditions of an Oriental people with the principles that are imbibed from Western civilisation. There is the difficulty of placing restraint upon his impulses or passions as a man where these conflict with his duties as a ruler. There is the difficulty, but the necessity, of maintaining a clear line between public and private expenditure, and of remembering that the resources of the State belong to the people, and not to the Chief, and if contributed by them in one form, ought for the most part to be given back in another. There is the difficulty of hitting the mean between attempting too much and doing too little. But all of these are difficulties which only exist to be surmounted, and by which a man of level judgment and self-control need never be appalled.

Your Highness, I am now about to invest you with full powers of administration in your State. This is a turning-point in your life, from which will date the reputation for good or the reverse that will one day attach to your name. I believe and hope myself that it will be the former and not the latter, and that you mean to be, as you have a capacity for being, one of the rulers

whose names are uttered with gratitude and remembered with respect. There are five duties that I enjoin upon you as you take up the task. Be loyal to your Sovereign, who is the ultimate source and guarantee of your powers. Regard the Government of India and the local Government under which you are immediately placed as your protectors and sponsors. Treat the political officer with whom you are brought into contact, not as your tutor or mentor, but as a counsellor and friend. Be just and considerate to the nobles of your State; you owe a duty to them just as much as they to you. And lastly, never let a day pass without thinking of your people, and praying to Almighty God that you, who have so much, may do something for them, who have so little. If these are the principles by which you regulate your conduct, your subjects and your friends will look back upon this day not as a *tamasha* that is forgotten as soon as it is over, but as the dawn of a bright and prosperous era for the State of Bahawalpur.

INSTALLATION OF MAHARAJA OF ULWAR

The Viceroy visited Ulwar on December 10, 1903, for the purpose of installing on the *gadi* the young Maharaja Jai Singh, who had just attained the age of 21. The ceremony took place in the Durbar Hall of the Palace, where the Viceroy made the following speech:—

His Highness the Maharaja, whom I have come here to instal to-day, is the third Indian Prince whom it has been my privilege to invest with full powers during my time.[1] I regard this, and I hope and am sure that the Maharaja regards it, as no idle pageant or occasion for the mere exchange of complimentary words. On the contrary, there seems to me to be great solemnity in the moment when a young Chief takes over the rule of his country and his people; and I consider it a most right

[1] The others were the Maharaja of Mysore and the Nawab of Bahawalpur.

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and befitting thing that the representative of the monarch whom he acknowledges, and who is the final sanction of his powers, should attend to perform the ceremony in person, and thus demonstrate the personal interest of the Sovereign in the Princes who surround and support his throne. I am told that it is many a long year since any Rajput Prince was invested by a Governor-General of India, and that there is no Ruling Chief now living in this part of India who was thus installed. What may have been the reason for this I do not know. But whether I am creating a new precedent, or merely reviving an old one, I at least feel sure of one thing, namely, that the reciprocal relations of the British Crown and the Indian Princes can lose nothing, and may gain a good deal, by their association at a moment of such importance in the life of the young ruler. For each of the two parties is naturally brought to consider his own position and his relations to the other; and the result is not only a clear understanding, but an incentive to high resolve and a trumpet-call to duty. The Crown, through its representative, recognises its double duty of protection and self-restraint—of protection, because it has assumed the task of defending the State and Chief against all foes and of promoting their joint interests by every means in its power; of self-restraint, because the Paramount Power must be careful to abstain from any course calculated to promote its own interests at the expense of those of the State. For its part, the State, thus protected and secured, accepts the corresponding obligation to act in all things with loyalty to the Sovereign Power, to abstain from all acts injurious to the Government, and to conduct its own affairs with integrity and credit. These are the reciprocal rights and duties that are called to mind by the presence of the Viceroy on such an occasion as this; and for my own part I should like to think that the ceremony of installation will be willingly undertaken by him in all cases where the high rank and the good reputation of the Chief may be held to deserve the compliment.

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I sometimes think that there is no grander opportunity than that which opens out before a young Indian Prince invested with powers of rule at the dawn of manhood. He is among his own people. He is very likely drawn, as is the Maharaja whom we are honouring today, from an ancient and illustrious race. Respect and reverence are his natural heritage, unless he is base enough or foolish enough to throw them away. He has, as a rule, ample means at his disposal, enough both to gratify any reasonable desire and to show charity and munificence to others. Subject to the control of the Sovereign Power, he enjoys very substantial authority, and can be a ruler in reality as well as in name. These are his private advantages. Then look at his public position. He is secure against rebellion inside the State or invasion from without. He need maintain no costly army, for his territories are defended for him; he need fight no wars, except those in which he joins voluntarily in the cause of the Empire. His State benefits from the railways and public works, the postal system, the fiscal system, and the currency system of the Supreme Government. He can appeal to its officers for guidance, to its practice for instruction, to its exchequer for financial assistance, to its head for encouragement and counsel. He is surrounded by every condition that should make life pleasant, and yet make it a duty. If in the face of all this he goes astray, if he practises self-indulgence, or thinks only of the gratification of his own tastes or passions, if he yields to flattery or becomes a ne'er-do-weel and spendthrift, then I think that the fall is all the greater and the sadder because it is a fall from so high a pinnacle, and because in falling he is not only injuring and perhaps destroying himself, but he is dealing a blow at the class which he represents and the princely order from which he has sprung.

Maharaja, you are old enough to know all this and much more besides, for you have reached the age at which in England we describe a man as having attained his majority—in other words, you have completed your

twenty-first year. I think it much better myself that a young Chief should not be installed too soon. To take a mere boy and trust him with ruling powers is often not fair either upon him or upon the State; and many of the mistakes of the past have been due in my judgment to the premature removal of all discipline and restraint from weak dispositions or ill-balanced minds. The Government of India must of course judge each case on its own merits as it arises; but the tests which it must require to be satisfied in each case are the same, namely, that the young Chief has received the education and the training, and that he possesses the character, that will qualify him to rule over men; and that the interests of his State and people will not be imperilled or sacrificed by his elevation.

It is because the Government of India believe this definition to be satisfied in your case that I am here, Maharaja, to instal you to-day. You have had a good education; you have passed through a period of restraint and discipline; you have attained to the years of maturity; and I believe you to be inspired by a true and sincere desire to deserve well of your State and your people.

I need not repeat to you the truisms to which I have so often given utterance elsewhere. For you know as well as I do what is the difference between a good Chief and an inferior Chief; and you know that to those who belong to the former class opens out a vista of usefulness and honour and renown, while the latter are speedily wiped out and perish from the thoughts of men. But though I need not repeat any of these things, there is one consideration of which I may remind you, and which in itself will supply a stimulus to good deeds. Upon you it rests both to sustain the reputation of your family, so well known for loyalty and patriotism, and to support the honour and prestige of the Rajput name. There is a saying in the Latin language, namely, *Corruptio optimi pessima*, which means that the failure of the best becomes the worst; I think that it holds true of blood and race as well as of moral virtues. A Rajput Prince who falls

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away from the ideals of his house and clan is committing a worse offence than a smaller man, because he is casting a stain upon that which we are fond of regarding as the mirror of chivalry and high breeding. But a Rajput Prince who is noble in character and blameless in deeds is adding something on his own account to the ancestral and famous reputation of his race.

Above all, remember, Maharaja—and these shall be my final words,—that the life of a successful ruler cannot be a succession of fits and starts, now a spurt of activity and well-doing, and then a relapse into apathy or indifference. Every time that you slip backwards you miss some ground which it is difficult to recover. On the other hand, if each move is a step forward, however slight, your foothold is always secure and no one can upset you. Remember, therefore, that you are like a runner in a long-distance race, in which there is no need to go very quickly at the start, because you will want your breath and your strength later on, but in which you must husband your resources and regulate your speed. I call it a long-distance race, because in the case of a Ruling Chief the race only ends with his life. He cannot leave the course while he has breath in him. Though he may have started on the first round when he was only a youth, he may still be engaged upon the last when his limbs are failing and his strength has grown dim. I earnestly hope that your course will be long and honourable; that you will neither stumble nor lose heart; and that many future Viceroys, as they visit this State in the years to come, may find the good omens of this day fulfilled, and may envy me for having inaugurated a rule that has turned out to be creditable to yourself and beneficial to your people.

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DALY COLLEGE, INDORE

On November 4, 1905, sixty-five Chiefs and Thakors of Central India, with 10,000 followers, were assembled at Indore to bid farewell to the Viceroy and to be present at the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the new Daly Chiefs' College. Lord Curzon was prevented by illness from going to Indore to perform the ceremony, but deputed Mr. S. M. Fraser, lately Foreign Secretary, to read the speech which he was to have delivered, and which contained his parting message to the Chiefs of India. It was as follows:—

This is the last occasion, I imagine, on which I shall ever address an assemblage of Indian Chiefs. But it is perhaps not the least important, since we are founding or refounding here to-day one of those institutions in whose welfare I have always taken the deepest interest, because in their success is bound up the success of the princely class whose sons will be educated within its walls, and who will stand or fall in the future according to the character that is in them from their birth, and the shape that is given to that character by education.

The old Daly College was founded here as long ago as 1881, in the time of that excellent and beloved Political Officer, Sir Henry Daly. It was a College for the scions of the princely and aristocratic classes of Central India. It did its work within certain limits fairly well. But its scope was too narrow; it was not sufficiently supported by those for whom it was intended; it gradually dwindled in numbers and utility; it became overshadowed by the Mayo College at Ajmer; and nearly four years ago, when I presided over the Conference on Chiefs' Colleges at Calcutta, we all felt that the best thing to do would be, not exactly to merge the Daly College in the larger institution, but to maintain it as a feeder to the latter, and to encourage the Central India chiefs to give their support and to send their sons for the finishing stages of their education to Ajmer.

Then two unforeseen things happened. In proportion

as our interest and expenditure on the Mayo College began to strengthen and popularise that institution, turning it into a Chiefs' College worthy of the name, and drawing its recruits not from Rajputana only, but from the whole of Northern and even sometimes from Southern India—so did a spirit of emulation and pride begin to stir in the bosoms of the Central India Chiefs, and they said to themselves—Are we merely to be the handmaid of Ajmer? Shall we not have a *pucca* Chiefs' College of our own? May we not revive the glories of the Daly College and prove to the world that in the modern pursuit of enlightenment and progress Central India is not going to lag behind?

The second occurrence was this. I sent Major Daly as Agent to the Governor-General to Indore, and he speedily made the discovery that the Central India Chiefs were anxious, not indeed to withdraw their support from Ajmer, but to give it in independent and larger measure to a College of their own, and to find the money and provide the guarantees that would raise the Daly College to a level of equal dignity and influence. Imbued with natural ardour and with the additional desire to resuscitate and vindicate his father's original aim, he pushed the matter forward, as did Mr. Bayley in the interval before he left Central India for Hyderabad, and pressed the claims of the new scheme upon the Government of India.

Thus in the energy of these two officers, and still more in the enthusiasm and liberality of the Central India Chiefs, notably those of the wealthier States of Gwalior, Indore, and Rewa, we have the origin of the movement which we are carrying forward to-day to a further stage, and the secret of the rejuvenated Daly College, which, phœnix-like, is about to spring from the unexhausted ashes of its predecessor, and to start its new existence in the handsome and dignified setting of which I have just laid the first stone.

But what, it may be asked, Your Highness, is this College to do for your sons? I think I know what you

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want, and I am sure I know what the Government of India want, and I believe that we both want the same thing. We both desire to raise up a vigorous and intelligent race of young men who will be in touch with modern progress, but not out of touch with old traditions; who will be liberally educated, but not educated out of sympathy with their own families and people; who will be manly and not effeminate, strong-minded but not strong-willed, acknowledging a duty to others instead of being a law unto themselves, and who will be fit to do something in the world instead of settling down into fops or spendthrifts or drones. How are we to accomplish this? The answer is simple. First, you must have the College properly built, properly equipped, and properly endowed. Then you must have a good staff of teachers, carefully selected for their aptitudes and adequately paid, and a Principal who has a heart as well as a head for his task. Then you must have a sound curriculum, a spirit of local patriotism, and a healthy tone. And, finally, you must have two other factors, the constant support and patronage of the Political Officers who live in this place and in the various Central India States; and, above all, the personal enthusiasm, the close supervision, and the vital interest of the Chiefs themselves. I say "above all," because the lesson which the Chiefs of India have to learn, if they have not learned it already, is that these Colleges will depend in the last resort not upon Government support, but upon their support, and that the future is in their hands much more than in ours. Well, I have named rather a long list of requirements, and it contains a good many items. But there is not one of them that is not realisable by itself, and there is not the slightest reason why they should not all be realised in combination. You have a good model in the Mayo College, not so far away; this meeting of to-day shows that the sympathies of the Chiefs are in the undertaking; and if only you adhere to your present spirit and temper, success should be assured. I look forward

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to the day as not far distant when each State, instead of having to come to the Government of India for any form of expert assistance that it may require, whether it be a Dewan, or a Councillor, or an Educational Officer, or an Estate Manager, or an officer of Imperial Service Troops, or an Engineer, will have in its midst a body of young men, sprung from itself, living on its soil, and devoted to its interest, who will help the Chief or the Durbar in the work of development or administration. The old-fashioned sirdar or thakor who has followed the ways of his ancestors, and is often unacquainted with English, will tend to disappear, and will be replaced by a younger generation with new ideals and a modern education. The change will sometimes have its drawbacks; but it is inevitable, and on the whole it will be for the good. You cannot have a number of these Colleges scattered about India—there will now be four principal ones, namely, those at Ajmer, Lahore, Rajkot, and Indore, as well as many subsidiary institutions,—you cannot turn out annually some scores of highly educated young Indian gentlemen, brought up with the sort of training that is given in these institutions, without producing a far-reaching effect upon the aristocracy of India. People do not see it yet, because they hardly know what we are doing at these places, or the immense strides that are being made. But in India I am always looking ahead. I am thinking of what will happen fifty years hence, and I confidently assert that from these years of active labour and fermentation there must spring results that will alter the face of Native States and will convert the Indian nobility and land-owning classes into a much more powerful and progressive factor in India of the future.

And now, Your Highnesses, in this my message of farewell to the Indian Princes what shall I say? They know that throughout my term of office one of my main objects has been to promote their welfare, to protect their interests, to stimulate their energies, and to earn their esteem. Nothing in this wonderful land, which

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has fired the impulses and drained the strength of the best years of my life, has appealed to me more than the privilege of co-operation with the Chiefs of India—men sprung from ancient lineage, endowed with no ordinary powers and responsibilities, and possessing nobility of character as well as of birth. It seemed to me from the start that one of the proudest objects which the representative of the Sovereign in India could set before himself would be to draw these rulers to his side, to win their friendship, to learn their opinions and needs, and to share with them the burden of rule. That is why I called them my colleagues and partners in the speech that I made at Gwalior six years ago; why I bade them to Delhi and have frequently been honoured by their company at Calcutta; why I have personally installed this Chief, and enhanced the powers of that; have gone in and out among them, so that there is scarcely an accessible Native State in India that I have not visited; have corresponded with them and they with me; until at the end of it all I can truthfully speak of them not merely as colleagues and partners, but as personal friends. For the same reason I am here to-day, so that almost my last official act in India may be one that brings me into contact with the princely class to whom I am so deeply attached, and who have shown me such repeated marks of their regard, never more so than during the past few weeks in connection with my approaching departure.

Your Highnesses, what is it that we have been doing together during the past seven years? What marks or symptoms can we point to of positive advance? To me the answer seems very clear. The Chiefs have been doing a great deal, and the Government have been trying to do a great deal also. When their States have been attacked by famine, the Chiefs have readily accepted the higher and more costly standards of modern administration, and the Durbars have courageously thrown themselves into the struggle. There has been a notable rising of the tone and quality of internal

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administration all round; many of the Chiefs have reformed their currency, and have devoted more funds to public works and to education. They have learned to husband instead of squandering their resources, and have set before themselves a high conception of duty. When we have had external wars the Princes have freely offered assistance in troops, horses, and supplies. I cannot readily forget the hospital-ship which that enlightened Prince, Maharaja Scindia, who is here to-day, equipped at his own expense and took out to China. Several of the Chiefs have volunteered their own services also. When I addressed them last year about Imperial Service Troops they replied to me in language of the utmost cordiality and encouragement. There have been other services that cannot be omitted. When we have internal calamity or distress, as in the case of the recent earthquake, the purses of the Chiefs are always open to help their suffering fellow-creatures in British India. Do we not all remember the princely benefaction of the Maharaja of Jaipur, who started the Indian People's Famine Trust with a gift of 21 lakhs, which was subsequently increased by the contributions of some of his brother Chiefs. There never was a more noble or magnanimous use of great riches. Finally, there were the splendid donations made by the Indian Princes to the Queen Victoria Memorial, from which is in course of being raised, at the capital of the Indian Empire, a building worthy to bear her illustrious name. When we began that great enterprise, there were plenty of critics to scoff and jeer, and not too many to help. Now the tide has turned. The foundation-stone of the main building will be laid in Calcutta in a few weeks' time by the Prince of Wales, and he will see in the collection already assembled in the Indian Museum and afterwards to be transferred to the Hall, such an exhibition of interesting and valuable objects as will make the Victoria Hall not only a fitting memorial to a venerated Sovereign, but a National Gallery of which all India

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may well be proud. During the past summer I have, as you know, addressed the majority of the Indian Princes as regards the objects to be gathered for this exhibition, and from their treasuries and armouries and *toshakhanas* they have willingly produced, on gift or on loan, such a number of historical and valuable articles as will convert the Princes' Gallery of the future into a microcosm of the romance and pageantry of the East. When the Victoria Hall has been raised and equipped the Princes will be proud of their handiwork, and there will perhaps be one other individual far away who will have no cause to feel ashamed.

I have described to you the work of the Princes in recent years. Let me say a word about the work of the Government. It has been our object to encourage and stimulate all those generous inclinations of which I have spoken. For this purpose we have lent to the Chiefs officers in famine times, officers for settlement, officers for irrigation programmes, officers as tutors and guardians. I would never force a European upon a Native State; but if a European is asked for or wanted, I would give the best. We have lent money on easy terms to such States as were impoverished, in order to finance them in adversity, and have remitted the interest on our loans. Then there are all the educational projects of which I have spoken, and of which this is one. When I look at the Chiefs' Colleges as they are now, with increased staffs, with a revised curriculum, with enlarged buildings, with boys hurrying to join them, with the Chiefs eager to support, and contrast this with the old state of affairs, the contrast is great and gratifying indeed. Then there is that favourite of my own heart, the Imperial Cadet Corps, now in existence for over three years, turning out its quota of gentlemanly and well-educated young officers, four of whom have already received commissions in the army of the King-Emperor, already acquiring its own *esprit de corps* and traditions, assisted by the framework of beautiful buildings and surroundings at Dehra Dun, and about to send

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its past and present members down to Calcutta to escort the son of the Sovereign in the capital of India. With a full heart I commit to my successor, and to the Princes of India, the future of the Cadet Corps, trusting to them in combination to look after it, and to keep its reputation bright and its efficiency unimpaired.

I am also glad to think of the encouragement that I have been able to give to the Imperial Service Troops in my time. It has fallen to me to be the first Viceroy to employ them outside of India; and though I would not have dreamed of such a step except at the earnest solicitation of the Chiefs to whom the contingents belonged, I yet regarded it as an honour to concede this fresh outlet when it was sought by their ardent patriotism. I have already mentioned the personal appeal that I addressed to all the Chiefs last year about their Imperial Service contributions, and their generous and gratifying response to it. When this matter has been settled, I hope that the Imperial Service Troops will have been placed on a firmer and broader basis than the present, without departing one iota from the sound principles that were formulated in the first place by Lord Dufferin and Lord Lansdowne more than fifteen years ago. Those principles are essential to its vitality. The Imperial Service Troops must remain the forces of the Chiefs, controlled and managed by them under the supervision of the Viceroy. They must not be swept into the Indian Army, or treated as though they were the mercenaries of the Crown. They are nothing of the sort. They are the free and voluntary contributions of the Princes, and the Princes' troops they must remain.

During my term of office there are also a few stumbling-blocks that it has been a source of pride to me to assist to remove. Foremost among these was the time-honoured difficulty about Berar, which the sagacious intelligence and sound sense of the Nizam enabled both of us to dispose of in a manner that neither has any reason to regret. I hope also to have facilitated the solution of the difficult and complex questions

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that have arisen out of the sea customs in Kathiawar. There is only one other big measure that I had hoped to carry in the interest of the Chiefs in my time, but which, if it is permitted to bear fruit, I must now bequeath to my successor. I hope that he will love the Chiefs as I have done; and that they will extend to him, as I am sure that they will do, the confidence and the support which they have been good enough to give in such generous measure to me.

As regards the particular audience whom I am now addressing, I had intended, as Major Daly knows, to make a somewhat extended tour in Central India this winter. The majority of the Central India Chiefs I have already visited, and the Maharajas of Gwalior, Orchha, and Datia, the Begum of Bhopal, and the Raja of Dhar have received me in their homes. The remainder I had met at Delhi or elsewhere, and had hoped to see some of them again in the course of my tour. Now that this has had to be abandoned in consequence of my approaching departure, it has been a great compensation to me to receive your pressing invitation to come here to-day and to meet you, on such an important occasion, for the last time. I may congratulate you also that in a few days' time you will all be able to welcome Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales in this place. It must be gratifying to you that they are paying a special visit to Central India, and that you will all have the honour of meeting and conversing with the Heir to the Throne.

Your Highnesses, in a fortnight from now I shall be leaving this country, and the official tie that has united me for so long to the Princes and Chiefs of India will be snapped. No longer shall I have the official right to interest myself in their States, their administration, their people, their institutions, their families, themselves. But nothing can take away from me the recollection of the work that has been done with them. Nothing can efface the impression left upon me by their chivalry and regard. Long may they continue to hold their great

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positions, secure in the affection of their own subjects and assured of the support of the Paramount Power. May they present to the world the unique spectacle of a congeries of principalities, raised on ancient foundations, and cherishing the traditions of a famous past, but imbued with the spirit of all that is best and most progressive in the modern world, recognising that duty is not the invention of the schoolmaster but the law of life, and united in defence of a Throne which has guaranteed their stability and is strong in their allegiance.

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CHIEFS' COLLEGES AND EDUCATION

RAJKUMAR COLLEGE, RAJKOT

ON November 5, 1900, the Viceroy distributed the prizes to the students of the Rajkumar College at Rajkot, whom he addressed as follows:—

Between two and three years ago, before I came out to India as Viceroy, there was placed in my hands a book containing the addresses that had been delivered by an English Principal to his pupils in an Indian College. The College was the Rajkumar College at Rajkot, in which I am now speaking; the author of the addresses was the late Mr. Chester Macnaghten.[1] I had not till that time been aware either of the existence of the College or of the name of the Principal; but, from what I read, I formed the opinion that here was an institution which, in spite of some discouragement at the start, and amid many drawbacks and obstacles, was doing a noble work for the rising generation of the princely and aristocratic families of Kathiawar and Guzerat, and that it had in its first Principal a man of high character, of lofty ideals, and with a peculiar gift for exciting enthusiasm. Mr. Macnaghten has since died, after a service of twenty-six years as the head of this College, with which his name will always be associated, where now before the entrance his statue stands, and which his ideals may I hope for long continue to inspire. But he has found a worthy successor

[1] *Common Thoughts on Serious Subjects.* London, 1896.

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in Mr. Waddington, to whose interesting address we have just listened, and who carries on the work of the College upon the same liberal and progressive lines. In such hands its future should be as secure as its past has already been fruitful.[1]

A year ago when I was at Rajkot I visited this place and was shown over the buildings by Mr. Waddington. Unfortunately the College was then in vacation, and only a few of the Kumars were in residence. Still I was enabled to understand the internal economy of the College, and to grasp the principles which regulate both the physical and the mental tuition of the boys. You may judge what a pleasure it is to me, who am an old public school boy and college man myself, to see you all here to-day, upon the occasion of your annual Prize Distribution or Commemoration Day; to have listened to your recitations, which seemed to me to be most excellently done; to be invited to hand the prizes to the successful competitors of the past year, and to say a few words to the assembled Kumars. One feature of these functions I will, however, spare you. I do not propose to tell the boys who have not won prizes on the present occasion that they are just as clever and as good as the boys who have, though this is the customary form of encouragement to administer, because it is obviously not the case. Neither will I tell you that your education, when you leave this College, is not ended, but is only just beginning, because I assume that you are sufficiently intelligent to know that already. Nor will I say that you should henceforward act in a manner worthy of the traditions of the College, because if this institution has existed for thirty years without producing in its students the *esprit de corps* of which I speak, nothing that I can say would now inculcate it, while it would be doubtful whether, in such a case, the place itself was worthy to exist at all. I prefer to make a few observations to you connected both with the present

[1] Mr. Waddington was afterwards appointed by Lord Curzon to be Principal of the Mayo College at Ajmer, which post he still holds.

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position of the College and with the future that lies before those who have passed through its courses.

To me it is quite clear that the Rajkumar College demands, just as I think that it also deserves, the continued support and confidence of the Chiefs. It was by their contributions and princely endowments that this institution was started. By their donations were built the lecture-rooms, and living quarters, and halls. They have given the prizes and medals which it has been my good fortune to distribute to-day. No assistance was rendered by Government either in the construction or in the maintenance of these buildings. The Political Agent in Kathiawar is, I believe, the Chairman of the Governing Council; and undoubtedly the advice which an experienced officer like Colonel Hunter is in a position to give you must be invaluable. Indeed, but for the exertions of one of his predecessors, Colonel Keatinge, in all probability the College would never have sprung into being; while later incumbents of the post, such as that capable and sympathetic administrator, Sir James Peile, have sedulously watched and encouraged its growth. On the other hand, while you cannot dispense with this form of aid and guidance, it is upon the continuous interest and liberality of the Chiefs themselves that the future of the College must, in the main, depend. If they continue to give their support, it will flourish. If they are apathetic, or indifferent, or hostile, it will dwindle and pine. From this point of view I was very pleased to hear of the wise step by which a number of the Ruling Chiefs, most of whom have themselves been educated in the College, have lately been associated with its government, by being placed upon the Council. They are bound to its interests by the double tie of old fellowship and of responsibility as members of the ruling order; and in their hands, if they do their duty, its future should be safe.

At the present moment I believe that no fewer than twelve out of the thirty-two Ruling Chiefs of Kathiawar

have been educated at the Rajkumar College; and I am not paying either them or the College any undue compliment when I add that they are among the most enlightened and capable of their class. Of course we cannot compel every Chief or Thakor to send his sons or the cadets of his family here. There were a large number who resented the apparent wrench to social habits and native traditions at the beginning. Some have never yet quite relinquished this suspicion. There will also always be a certain number of parents who will prefer private tuition for their sons, or education at the hands of native teachers, or a course of study abroad. I would not interfere with their discretion: each parent has his own ideas about the bringing up of his boys; and I can conceive nothing worse than to force all fathers or all sons into the same mould—you would get a very dismal and flattened-out type of character as the result. Nevertheless, broadly speaking, I would appeal to the ruling families of Guzerat and Kathiawar, and indeed of the Bombay Presidency as a whole, to continue their support to this institution, and to send their sons and grandsons here, both because I think that the system itself is sufficiently elastic to escape the dangers of stereotyping a particular form or cast of character of which I have spoken, and because I do not entertain a doubt that the general influence of the College has been and is of inestimable value in its influence upon the well-being and good government of the province.

And now a few words to the young men and boys whom I see before me. Mr. Waddington used what seemed to me to be wise words when he spoke of the difficulty of transplanting the best in Western thought and tradition without impairing the Indian's love for his home and his country. That is, and has been and will continue to be, the difficulty all along. There can be no greater mistake than to suppose that because in this, and the other Chiefs' Colleges in Northern and Central India, the boys are given the nearest equivalent of which India admits to an English public school education, the

aim is, therefore, to turn them outright into English boys. If this College were to emancipate its students from old-fashioned prejudices or superstitions at the cost of denationalisation, I for one should think the price too heavy. The Anglicised Indian is not a more attractive spectacle in my eyes than the Indianised Englishman. Both are hybrids of an unnatural type. No, we want the young Chiefs who are educated here to learn the English language, and to become sufficiently familiar with English customs, literature, science, modes of thought, standards of truth and honour, and I may add with manly English sports and games, to be able to hold their own in the world in which their lot will be cast, without appearing to be dullards or clowns, and to give to their people, if they subsequently become rulers, the benefit of enlightened and pure administration. Beyond that we do not press them to go. After all, those Kumars who become Chiefs are called upon to rule, not an English but an Indian people; and as a prince who is to have any influence and to justify his own existence must be one with his own subjects, it is clear that it is not by English models alone, but by an adaptation of Eastern prescriptions to the Western standard, that he can hope to succeed. Chiefs are not, as is sometimes imagined, a privileged body of persons. God Almighty has not presented them with a *sunnud* to do nothing in perpetuity. The State is not their private property; its revenues are not their privy purse. They are intended by Providence to be the working bees and not the drones of the hive. They exist for the benefit of their people; their people do not exist for them. They are intended to be types, and leaders, and examples. A Chief at whom any one of his subjects can point the finger of scorn is not fit to be a Chief. If these views are correct, it is clear that this College has a great and responsible work devolved upon it, since it ought to be not merely a school of men, but a nursery of statesmen; and that the worst way of discharging its trust would be to rob its pupils of their

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surest claim to the confidence of their countrymen—which is this, that, though educated in a Western curriculum, they should still remain Indians, true to their own beliefs, their own traditions, and their own people.

Therefore, Chiefs and pupils of the Rajkumar College, I say this to you—and it is my parting word—Be loyal to this College: spread its name abroad, and see to it that, in your own person, it is justified before men. While you are proud to acquire the accomplishments of English gentlemen, do not forget that you are Indian nobles or Indian Princes. Let the land of your birth have a superior claim upon you to the language of your adoption, and recollect that you will be remembered in history, if you earn remembrance, not because you copied the habits of an alien country, but because you benefited the inhabitants of your own. If I could feel that my poor words were likely to waken in any of the young men whom I am addressing, and who may be destined to high responsibility in the future, a keener and fresher sense of duty than has perhaps hitherto occurred to his mind, the pleasure which I have experienced in coming here to-day, which is already great, would be tenfold, nay a hundredfold, greater.

CONFERENCE AT CALCUTTA

In January 1902 the Viceroy convened a Conference at Calcutta to discuss the question of reform in the constitution and curriculum of the Chiefs' Colleges in India. This Conference, which lasted for four days, was attended by the principal political officers from all parts of India, by representatives of the native Chiefs and ministers, and by the heads of the existing Chiefs' Colleges. Lord Curzon presided over the Conference, and opened it with the following speech:—

Before we proceed to discuss the subject for which I have invited you to Calcutta, I should like to indicate how and why it is that the occasion has arisen, and in what manner I am anxious to profit by your advice in

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dealing with it. Chiefs' Colleges in this country, or Rajkumar Colleges as they are sometimes called, are the growth entirely of the last thirty years. They are the outcome of the growing desire, which has manifested itself in every class of the community, to keep abreast of the times, and to give to the rising generation in India an education that shall enable them to hold their own in a world of constant change and ever-increasing competition. These ideas have found their way into the minds even of the most conservative classes. It has become apparent that neither private tuition, nor the practices and institutions of Native States or territories, succeed altogether in giving to the sons of Chiefs and nobles that all-round education, particularly in relation to character, that is admittedly the product of the English public school system. To many of the Indian nobility the discovery has come slowly; to some perhaps it has not yet come at all. Nevertheless, of the general existence and steady growth of this feeling among the upper classes of Indian society there can be no doubt, and it was partly to meet the demand where it already existed, partly to anticipate it where it had not yet found expression, that Government has interested itself in the foundation of a small number of Colleges, directly designed to provide a superior type of education for the sons of the princely and aristocratic families of India.

The first of these Colleges to be started was the Rajkumar College at Rajkot in 1870. This was originally intended for the Chiefs and noble families of Kathiawar, but has, in recent times, acquired a wider scope, and is now recognised as the Chiefs' College for the entire Bombay Presidency. Next came the Mayo College at Ajmer, the idea of which originated with Colonel Walter as far back as 1869, but which only took concrete shape after the lamented death of Lord Mayo in 1872, and in memory of him. Planted in the heart of Rajputana, and intended to provide more especially for the youth of the Rajput titled houses, this College

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has perhaps excited the most widespread attention. A Rajkumar College was also founded in memory of the same illustrious Viceroy at Nowgong for the Chiefs of Bundelkhund. At Indore there was a Residency College which had been instituted at about the same time by Sir H. Daly for the families of the Chiefs of Central India; and which afterwards developed into a more ambitious concern, and received the designation of the Daly College, in honour of its original parent. There not being scope for two such institutions within so short a distance of each other, the Nowgong College was in 1898 amalgamated with the Daly College at Indore. Next in date followed the Aitchison College at Lahore, which was founded in 1886 by the distinguished Lieutenant-Governor of that name as a school for the nobility and gentry of the Punjab. Smaller and less influential schools have been started in different parts of India for the education of the sons of Chiefs and gentry of lower rank or more humble means. Such are the Colvin School at Lucknow for the sons of the Oudh talukdars, and the Raipur College for the sons of the Chattisgarh Chiefs. I might also mention the Girasia Colleges at Gondal and Wadhwan in Kathiawar. I am not called upon to deal with this latter class of institutions on the present occasion. Similarly, the Mohammedan College at Aligarh stands outside of my present inquiry, since, although it is patronised by families of very good position, it is not a Chiefs' College, and is founded upon the basis of creed rather than of rank. It is with the four Chiefs' Colleges at Ajmer, Lahore, Rajkot, and Indore that I am principally concerned to-day, and it is their condition and prospects that I am about to submit to examination.

Of the apparent success of these Colleges there are many external symptoms. They have attracted the abilities and have inspired the life-service of more than one remarkable man, foremost among whom I would name Mr. Chester Macnaghten, who devoted twenty-six years of a short but noble life to the Rajkumar

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College at Rajkot. They have sent out into the world a number of distinguished pupils, some of whom are now Ruling Chiefs, while others have carried the name of their College on to even wider fields. They have attracted the quinquennial visits of Viceroys, and the more frequent patronage of the heads of local administrations. They have even given birth to a school literature, specially designed to commemorate the exploits and fame of the particular *alma mater*. Three of the Colleges I have had the good fortune to visit myself since I have been in India, and I have devoted a good deal of attention to the subject of their management and curriculum. More recently my interest in them has been guided into a fresh channel by the gracious permission of His Majesty the King-Emperor to institute an Imperial Cadet Corps, which will be recruited in the main from the Chiefs' Colleges, and will provide for the pick of their pupils that opening in the field of military service which has hitherto been denied to the aristocratic ranks of India. In connection with the first formation of this corps, it became my duty to institute a somewhat close examination into the circumstances of each College. I became familiar with many virtues, but I also learned many defects, which, I believe, have long been recognised and bewailed by those who have far more right to speak than I. It is in order to strengthen and extend the good features of the system, and, if possible, to purge away the blemishes, that I have invited you to this Conference.

The original object with which these Colleges were founded has often been defined. It was in order to fit the young Chiefs and nobles of India physically, morally, and intellectually for the responsibilities that lay before them, to render them manly, honourable, and cultured members of society, worthy of the high station that as Ruling Chiefs, as thakors or sirdars, as landlords or jagirdars, or in other walks of life, awaited them in the future. With this object in view the founders of these institutions, deliberately selecting the English

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public school system as that which had best succeeded in doing a similar work among the higher ranks of English society, sought to reproduce its most salient features here. Indian boys of the upper classes were taken away from the narrow and often demoralising existence of their homes, and were thrown together in the boarding-house, the class-room, and the play-ground. Instead of being the solitary suns of petty firmaments, they became co-ordinate atoms in a larger whole. In the Colleges they were taught exercises and drill and games. They received the elements of a liberal education. They learned that there was a wider life than that of a Court, and larger duties than those of self-indulgence. In all these respects the Chiefs' Colleges in India have followed, at a distance it may be, but with anxious fidelity, their English prototypes.

But there I am afraid that the resemblance stops. In our eagerness to think that all is going well, and in the proneness of mankind to mistake the appearance for the reality, we run the risk of shutting our eyes to considerations which a more careful scrutiny will not fail to reveal. In the world of nature a plant cannot suddenly be shifted from some foreign clime, and expected straightway to flourish in a novel temperature and a strange soil. So it is with the public school system in India. Never let us forget that it is not a plant of indigenous origin or of easy growth in this country. In its essence the system is contrary to the traditional sentiments of Indian parents of the aristocratic classes, and to the hereditary instincts of Indian sons. Those sentiments and those instincts are gradually changing, but they cannot be twisted round and revolutionised even in a generation. It is a work that may occupy the best part of a century. Moreover, some of the best and most cardinal features of English public school education we cannot, at any rate for many a long day, reproduce here. Take the question of numbers. The four principal English public schools contain a total of nearly 2500 boys. The four Chiefs' Colleges in India only contain between

them from 180 to 190. How can a College, whose students only range from 20 to 60, be compared with a school of 500 or of 1000? In this respect it is really more like a private or preparatory school than a public school. Numbers, too, represent much more than a mere arithmetical disparity. With a small number of boys you cannot have the perpetual play of one character upon another that follows from participation in a crowded society; your pupils are too few to compete among themselves; your institutions are too small to compete with each other. You inevitably lack the vitalising influences that produce *esprit de corps* and that give fibre to character.

Again, one of the chief sources of a healthier result in the English system is a feature that is difficult of reproduction, and, as I shall say later, ought not, in my opinion, to be forcibly reproduced here. Eton is an aristocratic school organised upon a democratic basis. It was not always so. It has become so in the process of time. The scions of the nobility are commonly sent there by their parents; but there is nothing to prevent the son of the *parvenu* from being sent too. All mix together on a footing of social equality. That is impossible in India, and will be impossible—even if it were desirable, which I think it is not—for many a long day to come. Here the class distinctions are much sharper and more stubborn than in the West. They are ingrained in the traditions of the people, and they are indurated by prescriptions of religion and race. You do not, therefore, get here, and you cannot expect to get, that easy intercourse between high and low, titled and untitled, rich and poor, which is the most striking external symptom of public school life in England. You have to deal with a more primitive state of society and with feelings whose roots are intertwined in the depths of human nature. That levelling down of class distinctions without detriment to the sanctions of class respect, which is so marked a characteristic of English civilisation, cannot be expected ready made in a country like this.

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I will notice two other points of difference. A good deal of the success of the English public school system, for which it gains a credit that it does not exclusively deserve, lies in the fact that it is not an education by itself. It is only a five or six years' interlude in an education that is going on for at least double that time. It is preceded by the private school, which very often lays the foundations, and it is, in a large number of cases, followed by the University, which puts on the coping-stone. If a boy went straight to Eton or Harrow at the age of eight or nine, having never learned anything before, and left at the age of eighteen, never intending to learn anything afterwards, we might hear a good deal more about the failures of the English public school system than we do. Now the situation that I have depicted is exactly that which prevails here. Most of the boys whom you train in the Chiefs' Colleges are hopelessly raw when they come; a good many are still immature when they go. That is the result of the conditions under which you work. One of my objects is to see whether we cannot in some respect modify them. But let it not be forgotten that this is a handicap by which your efforts are materially and unavoidably retarded.

The concluding respect in which the Indian Chiefs' Colleges fall far behind their English prototypes lies in the dearth of those influences which are associated with the boarding-house. In England a boy is continuously exposed to these influences from morning till night. He is not only taught in the class-room, or the lecture-room, for brief periods at stated hours. His house-master, who is really responsible for his bringing up, is always teaching him too, teaching him not merely by tasks and lessons, but by watching and training his combined moral and intellectual growth. It is the house-master, far more than the class-master, that is, as a rule, responsible for the final shape in which the public school boy is turned out. But in your Indian Chiefs' Colleges the reverse plan is adopted. You bring the

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boy into contact with his teacher during the few hours in which he is being taught; and then you take and shut him up in a boarding-house, where he is surrounded by *motamids* or *musahibs*, or native tutors, or guardians, who may be the best men in the world, but who are separated off from the staff, the curriculum, and the educative influence of the College. In fact, you divide his College career into two water-tight compartments. The boy is transferred from the one to the other at stated intervals of the day or night; and you sacrifice the many advantages that accrue from a single existence with an undivided aim.

These, then, appear to me to be the chief respects in which the Indian public school system differs, and to a certain extent must necessarily differ, from its European models. I pass on to consider certain other points in which its weaknesses are deserving of closer examination, and in which reform may be possible.

The first point that strikes me is the relative paucity of the numbers that are being educated in the Chiefs' Colleges in India. The Mayo College, I believe, contains accommodation for 150 pupils; but there are at the present time only about 50 on the rolls, and the maximum number ever entertained there has not been more than 80.[1] Yet there are 18 ruling chiefs in Rajputana, while I have seen the number of aristocratic families reckoned at 300. The Aitchison College contains less than 70 boys, but the Punjab should be capable of furnishing double that number. The Rajkot College has 45 pupils; but if its area of recruitment be the entire Bombay Presidency, or even if it be the northern half of it alone, the total ought, I should think, to be very much greater. The highest number contained in the Indore College has, I believe, been 28. There are now 23; and in what relation such a figure stands to the capacity of the Central Indian States it is unnecessary for me to point out. The closing of the Nowgong

[1] Before Lord Curzon left India, the number of pupils, in consequence of the reforms which were foreshadowed in this speech, had risen to over 90.

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College has not diverted the current of Bundela recruits to Indore, for I learn that no pupils from those States are being educated in the Daly College. The reflections suggested by these figures are not altogether encouraging; and their effect is not diminished, but enhanced, when we remember how many of the existing students have been sent to the Colleges as minors or wards of Court—in other words, not owing to the spontaneous choice of their parents or families. A number of Chiefs, more enlightened or less conservative than their fellows, have given to the Colleges their continuous support. They have sent their sons there, or been educated there themselves, and in the next generation the sons of these old boys are, in some cases, already following their fathers. But we all know that there is a large number who have stood and who continue to stand aloof, and it is their attitude that we must make a serious attempt to understand, and their sympathies that we must endeavour to enlist.

From such information as I possess, I am led to think that their hostility or indifference springs in the main from three causes. There are, first of all, the deeply embedded conservatism of the States, the tradition that the young Chief or noble should be brought up and trained among his own people, the zenana influence which is frightened at the idea of an emancipated individuality, and the Court surroundings, every unit in which is conscious of a possible loss of prerogative or authority to itself in the future, should a young recruit from the West appear upon the scene and begin to stir up the sluggish Eastern pools. These are influences which can only be overcome by the spread of enlightenment and by the breaking down of obsolete barriers.

Next I place the belief that the education given in the Chiefs' Colleges is too costly. In comparison with our English public schools it is extremely cheap. But that is not an altogether fair test to apply. Many of the Chiefs have been very hard hit in recent years by famine and other adversities. It is all that they can do to

make both ends meet; and if they find that the boys of the family can be much more cheaply educated either by a private tutor at home, or, in the less exalted ranks, by being sent to a neighbouring high school, it is not an unnatural thing that they should attach some value to these financial considerations. I think we ought to discuss whether there is any validity in this criticism, and, if so, whether it is possible in any way to meet it.

Thirdly, I am doubtful whether the Chiefs are entirely satisfied with the class and quality of education that the Colleges provide. I may not correctly interpret their views. But the points in which I think that they might fairly criticise the present system are these. It might be said in the case of almost every College that we have spent too much upon bricks and mortar, and have left too little for tuition. How can the best pupils be expected without the best teachers, and how can the best teachers be forthcoming unless you offer them adequate prospects and pay? Where are the public schools men, and where are the University graduates, European and Indian, upon your staffs, and what is their number? Are they a happy or are they a discontented and constantly changing body of men? Slow promotion, low pay, and no pension would, I expect, be the tale that a good many would tell. Then I wonder whether it might not be said that the education that is imparted at the Colleges is neither sufficiently practical nor sufficiently serious. You desire to prepare a young man to be a landowner. Do you give him precisely the instruction that will fit him for that object? In future you will want your best pupils to be selected for the Imperial Cadet Corps. Is your training well qualified to prepare them for such duties? When the youth is to become a Ruling Chief you wish to give him the all-round education of a gentleman. He should obviously be a master of the vernacular of his country. He ought to be acquainted with a classical language, so that he may not be shut off from the literature of the East. If he is to learn English—and English is the only gateway through which

he can attain to the full benefit of his teaching—then he should acquire not a perfunctory but a solid command of the English tongue. I have no sufficient ground for impugning the discipline and the morality of the Colleges, the general average of which is reported to be good. But I own to the impression that attendance is in some cases very slack, that boys come and stay away rather as they please, that admission is made too easy—though, if there is a difficulty in procuring candidates, this may be a pardonable error,—and that superannuation and punishment are not easy enough. If there is any truth in these impressions, then it is possible that an air of insufficient seriousness may be spread abroad, which must indirectly affect the reputation of the Colleges.

There is a further respect in which I desire information. It occurs to me that in some cases the Colleges, instead of recognising that they have been founded for a definite and special object, have dropped somewhat too easily into the current of the provincial educational system. Examinations by members of the Provincial Education Department, classes that are assimilated to those of the middle and secondary schools, standards that are borrowed from those of their neighbours—all of these may be to some extent inevitable; but I am not prepared offhand to accept them as irreproachable, or even as right. I know that in some cases very useful and practical courses have been substituted for them. This is a question that we must examine. Here I will only say that the idea that the Chiefs' Colleges exist as preparatory schools for the Indian Universities appears to me to be a fundamental misconception. In my opinion, they are constituted not to prepare for examinations, but to prepare for life.

These remarks will have afforded some idea of the lines upon which I think that our labours should proceed. In the first place, I would keep firmly to the original object for which the Chiefs' Colleges were founded, namely, as seminaries for the aristocratic classes. I would not unduly democratise them. In this respect I

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would not aspire to the ideal of the English public school. The time is not yet. I would frankly admit that a Rajkumar College rests, as its name implies, upon class distinction; and if any one is found to deprecate such a basis, I would reply that it is neither an ignoble nor a strange distinction, that it is familiar in all countries, that it is founded upon sentiment inherent in human nature, that it is congenial to the East, and that it is compatible with the finest fruits of enlightenment and civilisation. Neither do I want to see these Colleges reduced to the dull drab uniformity of the board school, with an English principal and a cricket-ground thrown in to give a dash of colour. Let us keep them as what they were intended to be, and not turn them into a composite construction that is neither one thing nor the other.

Next let us try to make the education businesslike and practical, and, where we have not got them, let us secure the teachers, and let us adopt the courses that will tend to that result. If I am to come to you for my Imperial Cadets, I must have reasonable security that you will give me not a callow and backward fledgling, but a young man with the capabilities of an officer, and the instincts, the manners, and the education of a gentleman. Similarly, let us make clear that the thakors and jagirdars and zemindars of the future, to which class the majority of your boys belong, are sent away to their future careers with a training in the elements of agricultural science, in civil engineering, in land records and measurement, and in knowledge of stock and plants, that will be useful to them. If it is a future ruler that is being shaped for the responsibilities of his life, then let him be given that all-round education in history, geography, mathematics, political economy, and political science which will save him from degenerating into either a dilettante or a sluggard. I am sure that if even the most old-fashioned of Chiefs were to see his boy come back to him turned from an idler into a man of business, his heart would warm towards the institution which had effected such a change.

Among the subjects that we must examine is the question whether, in relation to the figures that I have previously given, any greater concentration of Chiefs' Colleges is desirable. We shall probably all agree that an expansion in the number of pupils in each College is desirable; but what is the case as regards the expansion or contraction of the number of Colleges themselves? Have we sufficient, or too many, or too few?

Finally, I would like to ask you whether we cannot do anything, apart from a rise in the number of students, to promote an interchange of relations between the various Colleges. Each lives its own little life by itself. Attempts at intercourse have been made in respect of sports and games. But I suspect that we could do a good deal more. An exchange of teachers, or lecturers, or examiners, even a system of common examinations, are suggestions that may, at least, be worthy of discussion.

Reconstruction, reform, or expansion of any kind, I know well, means money, and I have not proceeded as far as this without realising that my hearers will ask me whether all these suggestions, presuming them to be acceptable, are to be backed by any more solid support. My answer is "Yes." I regard the reputation and duty of Government as directly interested in the future of these Colleges. I do not say, if they fail, that we shall be responsible for their failure; but I do say that we are bound to do what we can to ensure their success. If this can only be accomplished by giving more money, I will do my best to provide it; though I do not intend for one moment to make extravagance a cloak for future disappointment or further failure. But I realise that the resources of the Colleges are in some cases inadequate, and that if additional machinery, or a readjustment of the existing mechanism, is required, we may reasonably be asked to contribute towards it.

If, however, I am willing to make this admission, then I have a corresponding claim to make upon the Chiefs. I have a right to ask them for their support, not

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merely in funds—for many have given, and continue to give, handsomely in that respect,—but in personal sympathy and direct patronage. If the Chiefs' Colleges are to be kept going and to be reformed in their interests, they must deserve the boon: they must abandon the attitude of suspicion and hanging back. I am ready to do anything within reason to attract their confidence to these Colleges; and it will not be fair upon me, if they accept all these endeavours, and then continue to sit apart and to look askance. Let them contrast the healthy life of the school with the hothouse atmosphere of indulgence and adulation in which in bygone times too many of the native aristocracy have been brought up, and from which it has required real strength of character for a man to shake himself free. Let them remember that this education is offered to them to render their sons and relatives better and more useful men; not to stunt their liberties, but to invigorate their freedom. Let them recollect that it is probably the only education that these young men will get in their lives, and that the days are gone for ever when the ignorant and backward can sit in the seat of authority. The passionate cry of the twentieth century, which is re-echoing through the Western world, is that it will not suffer dunces gladly. The prophets of the day are all inviting us to be strenuous and efficient. What is good for Europe is equally good for Asia; and what is preached in England will not suffer by being practised here. If the Chiefs ask me how they can help, the answer is simple. Where they have means, let them support or endow the Colleges. Where they have not means, but have families, let them send the boys. Let them visit the Colleges, attend the functions, take part in the management, show an interest in the entire concern. If this is the spirit in which they will meet me, I venture to think that we can soon make up the lost leeway, and that the Government and the native aristocracy in combination—for neither can do it apart—will be able to convert the Rajkumar Colleges of India into something more worthy of the name.

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MAYO COLLEGE, AJMER

On November 19, 1902, the Viceroy distributed the prizes to the students of the Mayo College, Ajmer, and addressed them as follows:—

Two of my predecessors, Lord Lansdowne and Lord Elgin, have distributed prizes at the Mayo College. A third and earlier Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, opened it. I come here as the fourth in this unbroken line of succession to testify my interest in the College, and to speak to you a few words about the manner in which it has been in my power to demonstrate it. Had the College been in session, and had I presided in this Hall when first I visited Ajmer three years ago, my sympathies would have been not less warm than they are now. But I should not have enjoyed the same opportunities of vindicating them, and I should not have been able to state to you so unreservedly what the new and, as I hope, liberal policy of the Government of India towards this and similar institutions is to be.

As Viceroy of India I feel an intense responsibility for these Chiefs' Colleges. They were founded upon an English model which was itself an innovation in this country, and which threw upon the authors of it either the credit for success or the blame for failure; and they were instituted for the sake of the Indian Chiefs and their sons, who are the special interest of the Viceroy, because he manages all relations with them, and is, so far as the need for it arises, their patron and protector and friend. I felt all the greater responsibility when I recognised that these Colleges, in spite of the good results which they have produced and the admirable pupils whom they have turned out, had not won the entire confidence of the Chiefs to the extent that the Government of India have always desired, and had not therefore completely fulfilled the conception of their founders. It was to discuss these matters that I held

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the Conference at Calcutta in January last, at which we threshed out pretty well every question, great and small, connected with the future of the Mayo and other Rajkumar Colleges. Our views have now been circulated for reference to the various local authorities and to the Chiefs, and it is about them that I desire to say a few words this afternoon.

First let me state the principles upon which I proceed. In my view it is essential to the welfare of a nation that its aristocracy should not be divorced from its public life. Those countries in which the nobility have detached themselves or have been separated by circumstances from the current of the national existence, where they have ceased to be actors and become merely spectators, are either in a state of suspended progress, or are like a man with his right arm bandaged and in a sling. He is badly handicapped when he finds himself in a tight place. Whether the aristocracy of birth and descent be in principle a sound or an unsound thing, there can be no question of its popularity, its wide range of influence, and its efficacy as an instrument of rule. In India the aristocracy has a stronger position than in almost any European country that I know. For it has behind it the records of ancient lineage and brave deeds, it is respected and even beloved by the people, and under the system of adoption that has been sanctioned by the British Government, it is practically incapable of extinction. With all these advantages in its favour there ought to be no country where the aristocratic principle should so easily and thoroughly justify itself. But the Chiefs and nobles in India have to fight against a double danger. On the one side is the survival of the archaic and obsolete idea that rank is a dispensation from work instead of a call to it, and that a Chief need do nothing in the world beyond spend the money drawn from his people and enjoy himself. This old-fashioned idea is dying fast. But there are always a certain number of persons, either fossils or parasites, who are concerned in trying to keep it alive; and so long as it continues to

exist, the Indian aristocracy cannot put forth the full measure of its great influence and strength. Then there is the second danger, which is in my judgment much more alarming. This is the danger that in our desire to train up the rising generation to a wider conception of their duties, we may allow their training to run ahead of their opportunities, and may produce in them inclinations or capacities which are unsuited to their surroundings, or for which there is afterwards an insufficient field.

This is the chief preoccupation that has been present in my mind in considering the future of the Chiefs' Colleges ever since I have been in India. It is of no use to bring the boys here, and then to teach them things which will not be of service to them in after life. Neither is it of any use to turn out a perfect type of polo-player or a gentleman and then find nothing for him to do. We cannot go on playing polo all our lives: while even a gentleman is better when he is doing something than when he is idle. These Colleges must not be forcing houses which stimulate an artificial growth or produce a precocious bloom, but open-air gardens where the plant can follow a healthy and organic development. Hence it is that at the Calcutta Conference and ever since, we have been working out our plans, firstly to make the training that we give here more practical, and secondly to connect it more directly with the duties and demands of the life that we want to provide for the young man when he has left the College.

With the first of these objects in view we propose to make considerable changes both in the teaching staff and in the curriculum of the Chiefs' Colleges. We mean to have more masters and the highest type of them: and we propose for all of the Colleges what you have here already, viz. a separate course of studies for the pupils distinct from the prescribed courses of the Education Department—which were instituted for other purposes and are not always suitable. We also hope to arrange for separate systems of examination and inspection. Our idea is that we do not want to turn out from the

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Chiefs' Colleges precisely the same type of educational product that is manufactured by the thousand elsewhere; but that, if a boy is to be a Ruling Chief or a minister or a magistrate, we want to give him the education that will make him a good ruler or administrator or judge; if he is to be a thakor or zemindar, the education that will make him a good landowner; if an Imperial Cadet or an officer of the Imperial Service Troops, the education that will make him a good officer and leader of men. Then, as regards opportunities, we shall, I hope, as time proceeds, find no lack of opening for the activities of those whom we shall have thus trained. I have deliberately organised the Imperial Cadet Corps upon the basis of the Rajkumar Colleges; and the bulk of the Cadetships will be given to their pupils. Thus there is a direct object in view to which the best boys will always aspire, and which will be the goal of their collegiate ambitions. I hope, as time goes on, that even further openings may be found for the abilities of boys who pass through these Colleges: and that the Kumar, instead of beginning his education when he enters these walls, and finishing it when he leaves them, may regard his College career here as only one stage—though not the least important—in a life of public industry and usefulness.

In carrying out the programme of reform which I have sketched, Government are not going to stint their own liberality. We are prepared to spend an additional sum of nearly a lakh a year in improving the system. It is not money which we shall be spending upon ourselves, or from which Government will reap a direct return. But it will be money devoted to the cause of the Indian aristocracy, which in my view is bound up with the British Government in this country, and stands or falls with it; and it will be money devoted to making better citizens and more valuable public servants of those who are by birth and inheritance the natural pillars of the State.

Now, as I said at Calcutta, if Government is thus

bestirring itself and loosening its purse strings for the sake of the class for whom this and the other Chiefs' Colleges were founded, then I think that the leaders of that class, in other words the Indian Chiefs, must play their part in return. We are not going to force down their throats anything distasteful or repugnant to them. I have already consulted many upon the changes that we propose to introduce, and this College was represented at the Conference by one of the best of its former pupils, who is now a ruling chief, viz. the Maharao of Kota. I have further issued a circular letter inviting the opinions of all of the Chiefs as to the manner and degree in which we shall be wise in introducing the projected reforms; and I shall lose no opportunity of inviting their co-operation. To what extent that co-operation is required may be shown by the fact that though the Mayo College can accommodate 100 boys, there are at present only 52 on the rolls.

Udaipur ought to be one of your chief supporters, but I have heard that there is at present only one boy in the College from that important State. In my recent visit to its just and capable ruler, I asked him whether he could not encourage a more friendly attitude in his State; and he assured me that he would freely and gladly give me his aid. I am sanguine that this will produce good results: and I shall hope to evoke a similar response elsewhere.

Pupils of the College, I have been kept so busy with the various things that I wanted to say upon the present occasion about the future of this and the other Chiefs' Colleges, that I have had no time to utter any words of sympathy or encouragement to yourselves. After all, I do not think that they are necessary. "Boys listen to homilies with great earnestness, but I think that they also forget them with great ease. Anyhow, you know for certain that I must feel a keen interest in your welfare, from the manner in which I have taken up the question of the future of the Colleges, and from other opportunities that I have enjoyed during the past four

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years of showing a warm and sincere concern. If I could leave India feeling that I had really done something to place these institutions upon a more assured basis, to win the confidence of the fathers, and to spur the sense of duty of the sons, I should feel that I had not laboured entirely in vain.

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COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

BANQUET OF BENGAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, CALCUTTA

ON February 12, 1903, the members of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce gave a banquet at the Town Hall, Calcutta, to commemorate the fiftieth Anniversary of the formation of the Chamber. The Viceroy was the guest of the evening, and Sir Montagu Turner, President of the Chamber, proposed his health. In reply he spoke as follows:—

It is the greatest pleasure to me to be with you this evening on the fiftieth Anniversary of the foundation of this Chamber; and if the vitality of the Chamber may be fairly estimated from that of its President, who broke a collar-bone on Monday, and is here making an admirable speech on Thursday, then I think that there need be no alarm as to your physical vigour for the future.

Chambers of Commerce are very much to the fore nowadays. The second body that addressed me, after I had landed in Bombay more than four years ago, was a Chamber of Commerce. Among the first to address me in Calcutta was the Chamber by which I have now the honour of being entertained. On several occasions too, in the case of my predecessors, you have sped the parting as well as welcomed the incoming guest. I regard this form of contact, which is marked by absolute equality, and in which I have never known the smallest sacrifice of independence on either side, as a relation of

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mutual advantage. It is well for the entire mercantile community that its views should be expressed by a body of its most prominent members, and that a competent Committee should act as the mouthpiece of the whole; and it is also well for Government that a machinery should exist by which it can ascertain the views of the business world upon the many matters connected with business and trade with which it is called upon to deal. I have therefore never regarded Chambers of Commerce as a fortuitous concourse of individuals banded together for the exclusive object of protecting their own interests. They have always seemed to me to be an important factor in the body politic, constituted for the formation and representation of expert opinion upon mercantile subjects. I do not know whether it is these views that may have accounted for a saying that I saw repeated in some newspaper the other day, that I was supposed to be under the thumb of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. This was news to me, and I expect that it was equally news to you. I cannot remember the occasions on which you have behaved as the despotic master or I as the pliant victim; nor am I quite sure that it tallies with the picture of myself as ordinarily drawn. However that may be, sir, the charge of being under your thumb has, I am glad to say, not prevented me from being present at your table; and I hope it does not disable me from thanking you for the courteous and complimentary terms in which you have proposed my health, or this large and representative company for the manner in which they have received it.

There are many subjects upon which I should like, before an audience such as this, to say something this evening. You, sir, have told us something in your speech about the trade of Calcutta and the port of Calcutta. May I, in my fifth season of residence in Calcutta, dare to say something about the city itself? Of course I know that my view can only be a partial one, for I am never here to see Calcutta when I fancy that she is at her best, namely, when she is enjoying

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the cool luxury of the monsoon, and when the members of the Chamber of Commerce only suppress their superfluous vitality by riding races on the Maidan. But, subject to that disqualification, I may claim that I am a true and devoted citizen of Calcutta. The interest and fascination of this great city have grown upon me with each advancing year. To me Calcutta is the capital, not merely of a province, great as that province is, but of the Indian Empire. As such, it appears to me fitly to symbolise the work that the English have done, and are doing, in this country. For though, of the enormous population of over 1,100,000 souls that make up the city on both banks of the river, not much more than 30,000 are returned as Europeans and Eurasians, yet a glance at the buildings of the town, at the river and the roar and the smoke, is sufficient to show that Calcutta is in reality a European city set down on Asiatic soil, and that it is a monument—in my opinion one of the most striking extant monuments, for it is the second city to London in the entire British Empire—to the energy and the achievements of our race. Had Job Charnock not planted his humble tenement on the banks of the Hugli close to this spot more than two centuries ago, and persisted there in the face of every discouragement and hardship, and had not other Englishmen—I beg to say that I do not exclude Scotchmen and Irishmen—equally bold and courageous come after him, there might never have been a great capital here at all. Now Calcutta has grown to mature stature, and every visitor from the old country, every foreigner from afar, comes to see what she is like. They see the river with its crowded shipping, the quays with the jostle and clamour of their busy life, the Howrah bridge, so useful and so inadequate, the jute-mills and cotton-mills drawing their sooty finger-marks across the sky, the Government buildings and the law courts, where we dispense an administration and a justice whose rapidity is perhaps not quite in equal proportion to its virtue, the business houses, where the old men do not

see visions—because I am told there are no old men to see them—and the young men are too occupied to dream dreams, the teeming native quarters, packed with a dense population, drawn hither for security, employment, or trade; and, finally, the glorious and health-giving expanse of the Maidan—they see all these things, and I doubt if there is a man among them who does not feel that here is the settlement of an imperial race, and the fitting habitation of a world-wide rule. I do not know whether most to be grateful for the advantages of the geographical position that Calcutta enjoys, or to admire the intrepidity and enterprise which has turned them to such advantage. It is more than fifteen years since first I visited this place, and even within that time the change is amazing. It is going on every day before our eyes. Great buildings are springing up, new shops are being opened, the suburbs stretch out farther and farther into the country, the river is no longer a physical boundary to Calcutta, but is a link connecting its two sections; and I see no limit to the destinies which, but for some sudden and not to be expected convulsion of nature, will await you in the future. In my own small way I have tried to contribute to the historic interest and to the external beauties of this city. My view is well known, that no place and no country can afford to be so absorbed in the pursuit of its future as to forget its past. But in remembering the past I have also had one eye fixed on the present, and another on the future. The restored Holwell Monument and the commemoration by tablets and brass lines of Old Fort William will keep alive certain records and memories that should never die. The Imperial Library will, I hope, prove a genuine and permanent boon. I have bought, as you know, and renovated the old country-house of Warren Hastings at Alipore as a State Guest-House, where the Viceroy may return the abundant hospitality of the Indian chiefs; and I wish you would drive out there some afternoon, when the house is not occupied, and see what an addition it is to

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the sights of Calcutta. Next year I hope to have completed the handsome building of the new Foreign and Military Departments facing the Maidan in Esplanade Row. In a few years' time there will rise the snow-white fabric of the Victoria Memorial Hall, surrounded by a spacious garden, between the Lawrence Statue and the Fort,[1] and I have other ideas about the beautification of this part of Calcutta which are gradually taking shape, and which, I hope, will be realised before I go.[2] Some of you may have noticed the great improvement that has taken place in the heart of the business quarter of Calcutta, which is bounded by Writers' Buildings on the north, Old Court House Street on the east, and the river on the west. Ever since I have been here I have thought that the appearance of this quarter of the town was a disgrace to the city. The roads were shocking, the footpaths uneven, the lighting defective, the conservancy bad. The Government of India therefore said that, if the Corporation would undertake to bring up this part of the town to a satisfactory standard in all these respects, we would assume one-half of the initial charge, and would contribute Rs. 5000 a year towards the upkeep. These terms were accepted, and you may see the results. I do not know whether the change that has been made is approved or disapproved by public opinion, but I do know that it has made quite a different place of the heart of the city; and it has set a standard which cannot fail to spread and gradually

[1] This allusion, though it only repeated an announcement that had appeared in the Calcutta Press without exciting any unfavourable comment nearly a year before, led to an agitation in favour of transferring the hall from the site here named, which had been unanimously approved of by the Building Committee, to another site at the southern end of the Maidan. So great were the apprehensions entertained of any encroachment upon the open space of the Maidan that the trustees of the Victoria Memorial decided to defer to this expression of opinion, and selected the site, upon which the hall is now being built, in the neighbourhood of the Cathedral.

[2] The allusion was to the laying out and embellishment of the corner of the Maidan between Esplanade Row East and the Ochterlony Monument, and to the entire renovation and replanting of Dalhousie Square. Both of these plans, which were very dear to Lord Curzon's heart, were carried out during his last year in India.

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to affect the whole of the surrounding area. But there is one superficial feature of Calcutta that has greatly distressed me. It is a tribute to your enterprise; and I doubt not that it also ministers to your wealth. But it is neither necessary, nor beautiful, nor even sanitary. I allude to the Calcutta smoke, which sometimes almost makes one forget that this is an Asiatic capital, which besmirches the midday sky with its vulgar tar-brush and turns our sunsets into a murky gloom. I am reluctant to see Calcutta, which has risen like a flame, perish in soot and smoke; and I may inform you that we have an expert from England, even now on the seas, coming out here to advise us as to how we may combat this insidious and growing danger. I hope, when he comes, that all those who are concerned in the enterprises that result in such excellent financial dividends at the expense of so much fuliginous deposit, will join hands with us in the attempt to curtail a mischief which, if unarrested, I do not hesitate to say, will before long destroy one-half of the amenities of Calcutta, and will permanently injure its incomparable beauty and charm.[1]

But you will tell me that there are other and larger problems attending the future of Calcutta than are indicated by monuments and chimneys and gardens. I agree with you. There is the vast and unsettled problem of the interior of this city, the congested areas that skulk behind a fringe of palaces, the huge and palpitating slums. What are we going to do for them? How are we going to provide the Calcutta of the future with the streets that she needs, the air and open spaces that she needs, the improved and sanitary dwellings? This is the greatest problem of all. Do not imagine for a moment that we have overlooked it. For three years the correspondence with the local Government and the Government at home has been going on. It

[1] As a result of the visit of Mr. F. Grover, the expert referred to, and of his Report, a Bill conferring extensive powers on the local Government was introduced and passed in the Bengal Legislative Council in 1905.

has not been an easy matter to settle; for great plans and large sums of money have been involved. We have had to discuss the resources of the city, the credit of the Corporation, the interest of the local Government, and the responsibility of the supreme administration. We have had to produce a scheme that would be beneficial and adequate from the public point of view, financially sound, and equitable in its distribution of the necessary burdens. It was as far back as June last that we sent our project home to the Secretary of State. I may say at once that the Government of India did not fail to realise their interest in so great an undertaking, for we offered to make a grant of 50 lakhs from the Imperial revenues and to guarantee the loan that will require to be raised by the Corporation. I am not sure that the Secretary of State does not think that the Government is ready to give too much, and that the local tax-payer is called upon to contribute too little. Anyhow he has sent the scheme back to us, and has instructed us to revise it in consultation with the local bodies, such as the Corporation, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Trades Association, who are most concerned. In a few days, therefore, you will have the full plan before you. I am not without hopes that a remodelled scheme may be devised which will satisfy the Secretary of State's requirements: and if that be so, then, before any long time has elapsed, we shall proceed with the great project for bringing the interior of Calcutta up to the level of its exterior, and for making this great capital truly worthy of its name.[1]

Sometimes when I contemplate the possibilities, the enormous possibilities, of this place, I almost feel—you may regard it as a strange ambition—as if when I laid down the post of Viceroy I should like to become Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation. Those who talk

[1] An enlarged scheme providing for a total expenditure of 8½ crores or 5½ millions sterling was approved by the Secretary of State, and made public in the summer of 1905.

about municipal government in Calcutta as having received its death-knell, because an overswollen body of seventy-five was turned into a compact and business-like body of fifty,[1] may not understand this feeling. But those who look at facts, and who realise that a body has been constituted infinitely better fitted for its work, and demanding not the slurs or the sneers but the hearty encouragement and support of all patriotic citizens, will perhaps follow my meaning. I cannot imagine a higher duty or a more beneficent aim. Perhaps if I were Chairman, I should exact rather large conditions. I should require ten years of office, sufficient cash, and a free hand. Give me those commodities, and I would undertake to make this city the pride of Asia, and a model for the Eastern World. I would open out all your crowded quarters and slums. I would have electricity as the universal illuminant. I would have a splendid service of river steamboats and ferries—for it is astonishing to me how little use is made of the river by the ordinary residents of Calcutta. I would have all the quarters of the town connected by a service of suburban railways or electric trams. Already I see that positive advances are being made in this direction, and that the reformed Corporation is setting itself, under the able chairmanship of Mr. Greer, to justify those who called it into being. I rejoice, sir, that gentlemen like yourself are willing to devote their gratuitous energies and abilities to the task. I regard such service as the highest form of civic duty, and I commend the example to all those who are interested, as I am, and can never fail to be, in the fortunes of Calcutta. Long after I have gone I shall study the records of your proceedings, and shall never cease to regard it as a pride that for a number of the hardest

[1] The allusion is to the Calcutta Municipal Reform Act of 1899, by which, *inter alia*, the number of the Corporation was reduced from 75 to 50—one-half of whom, however, continued to be elected by the popular vote. This measure was invariably described by the Congress party as the destruction of local self-government in Calcutta!

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working years of my life I was as a citizen and a son of this great and imperial city.

And now, will you bear with me while I turn to an examination for a few minutes of those subjects with which you are most concerned, and with which I have endeavoured to acquire such familiarity as is possible in the midst of a life of many duties? I allude to the economic position and future of India, and to the part in it that is played or ought to be played by Government. Perhaps I may state my own credentials, modest as they are. My view of every question is that the way to deal with it is to understand it, and the way to understand is to dig down to the bed-rock of concrete fact and experience, or, as it may otherwise be put, to hear with one's own ears and to see with one's own eyes. People sometimes talk and write of a Viceroy's tours as though they were a ceremonial procession attended by little but pomp and show. I should like to take some of these arm-chair critics with me and to make the condition that they should never leave my side during a tour of six weeks or two months. I expect that after a week or two of being out from eight in the morning till sundown, inspecting, questioning, noting, addressing others, being addressed by them, everywhere probing, probing, probing for the truth, the critic would be ready enough to slink back to his arm-chair and to resume the irresponsible cultivation of the pen. I cannot recall much fuss or pomp when I visited the oil-wells of Assam and Burma, the coal-mines of Umaria, Jherria, and Makum, the gold-mines of Kolar, the tea-plantations and rubber-plantations, the cotton-mills and factories and workshops that I have now seen in so many parts of India. All I know is that, when I have visited these scenes of industrial enterprise, I have met with nothing but kindness from the proprietors or managers of these undertakings, and with an earnest desire to acquaint me with the facts; and I speak nothing but the truth when I say that any right that I may have acquired to deal with such matters has been

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in the main derived from these experiences, and that they have enormously stimulated my interest in the industrial and economic side of the national existence. I need not repeat here what I have said on previous occasions as to my belief in the economic future of this country. We have a continent of immense and as yet almost unexplored natural resources, existing under a settled Government, and inhabited by an industrious and orderly population. Though the vast majority of them have been trained to agriculture, are only physically fitted for agriculture, and will never practise anything but agriculture, yet in many parts of the country there is a substantial residuum, well qualified by intelligence and bodily aptitude for a life of mechanical or industrial toil. And yet it cannot be denied that in many respects we are still backward, and that we are only at the beginning of the race. I have often set myself to ponder over the causes that have hitherto retarded our development, and that make it to some eyes appear so slow; and I should like to say what I think they are.

It is a truism that there can be no economic or industrial development without capital, and it is round the attraction of capital to India that the whole question turns. Now there are two kinds of capital in this country, foreign and native, and I have a word or two to say about each. In the first place, let us realise what is borne in upon me every day—that there is a good deal of ignorance in England about India. If this ignorance affects Parliament, and sometimes causes extraordinary questions to be put by well-meaning persons, equally does it affect the business world. Our securities, our fields for investment, our openings for enterprise, are in many cases both unsuspected and unknown. Capital has not learned to flow hither. It has been diverted into other channels. Many of our securities do not find a place in the London stock-market: they are not even accessible here. I sometimes think that those who have got their nose into

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the Indian manger, and have found out what good grain is to be found there, are also a little jealous about disseminating the information or sharing the spoils. Perhaps this is not surprising, for commerce is not, after all, a very altruistic pursuit. However that may be, I believe that this condition of affairs is drawing to an end, and my reason for thinking so is that the other channels of investment, outside of India, are gradually being filled up, not merely by British capital, but by the capital of all the wealth-producing countries of the world; and, if this be so, then a time must soon come when the current of British capital, extruded from the banks between which it has long been content to meander, will want to pour over into fresh channels, and will, by the law of economic gravitation, find its way to India, to which it should be additionally attracted by the security of British institutions and British laws.

Then there is another factor that has long retarded the movement in this direction, that is the uncertainty and want of confidence in our currency, the acrobatic and disconcerting movements of our old friend the rupee. We have been busy for more than three years in curtailing the agility and in repressing the freaks of that dangerous mountebank: and I really begin to think that we have reduced him to proper subjection, and made him a fit subject for complimentary reference even at the table of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. I feel tempted to say with some confidence that we have given to India that which is the first condition of economic and industrial advance, namely, a currency possessing fixity of value and steadiness of exchange. I do not say that this policy has everywhere been attended with equal benefit, or that there are not some industries that did not profit, or appear to profit, more by a steadily declining rupee. But I do say that, whether you regard the credit of the Government, the trade of the country, the public growth of confidence, or even the material test of individual gains, our currency

policy, based upon the gold standard, has justified itself, and is continuing to justify itself, all along the line. I may put it in two ways. Memories of financiers and business men are almost as short as those of politicians. I cannot put it higher, or shall I say lower? And yet is there one among you that can forget the cries of anguish that used to echo from every counting-house in India, and the daily expletives of the press, in the old days before 1898? I was not in India at that time, but I used to study the Indian papers: and I remember well that while every one had his own remedy—a characteristic of financiers as well as of politicians—all were agreed that there was something rotten in the State of Denmark, and that the condition of the currency, with its consequent reaction on business and trade, was deplorably and almost irredeemably bad. But now all these memories have passed away like a hideous nightmare, and are forgotten as swiftly as we forget the dentist's chair the moment that we have escaped from its terrifying clutches. Then the other way in which I would put it is this. Supposing the Government were now to announce its intention to go back again, to abolish the gold standard, to reopen the Mints to the free coinage of silver, and to allow the rupee to resume its ancient tricks, would you invite the head of that Government to a dinner at this hospitable board? Would you toast him in the language of compliment? Is there a Chamber of Commerce in this country that would not buckle on its armour and sharpen its sword for the fray? Is there a Secretary to a Chamber that would not at once sit down and begin to indite one of those formidable letters to Government that bring home to us in such moving terms the extremity of our ignorance, the gravity of our offences, and the superior wisdom of our critics? No, I believe that our currency policy has the confidence of the country. I grant that it must be watched, that it must be fortified by every conceivable security, like the Gold Reserve Fund so

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wisely conceived by my financial colleague Sir Edward Law. But I believe that it is safely started, and I look to its successful continuance to attract to India the confidence and the capital that are required for our future.

But, sir, there is one obstacle to the progress I am predicating which you will tell me that I have forgotten, that is the Government of India itself. I saw the other day that one of our cold-weather visitors to India, before he had thawed under the genial influences of the Delhi Durbar, ventured upon the polite remark that the Government of India stinks in the nostrils of the city world in London. Poor, unpopular, and odoriferous Government of India! I have been wondering if there is anything that I could say or do to render ourselves more fragrant, if there is any sort of scented handkerchief that I could offer to the gentleman possessed of these delicate organs. First let me make an admission. I think that there is something, or at any rate has been something, in the charge. Capitalists and promoters are persons who want to do their business quickly, to get a swift and, if possible, a substantial return. They do not always quite realise the difficulties of a complex and many-headed administration like ours. The Government of India, though the supreme, is not an autocratic power in India; and outside of India we are not the supreme power at all. In this country there are numerous departments to be consulted, there are local Governments, there are often native States and Durbars. We ourselves are commonly ill-equipped with expert advice. Then when the ground has been cleared here, we have to go home to the India Office, and sometimes the whole thing begins again. These are some of our difficulties, inevitable and very hard to overcome. The alert business man no doubt thinks that we are haggling with insufficient cause, and he attributes the delay to an inherent and malignant passion for obstruction. I will not retaliate upon him by saying, as I might, that he very frequently

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changes his own ground, and, when we are getting to a direct issue, fails to come up to time at all, or that he sometimes thinks himself at liberty to treat a Government in a manner that he would not propose to apply to any private firm or institution in the world. I say I will not reply in this spirit, because I do not want to indulge in any sort of *tu quoque* argument. I would rather admit that our procedure is sometimes very slow and ponderous; and I would prefer in any case that is brought before me to do what I can to accelerate its pace. You have yourself, sir, generously acknowledged in your speech that delay finds no place in the present policy of the Government of India. That I can assure this company is no more than the truth. I speak for the whole of my colleagues when I say that no effort has been wanting, or will be wanting, on our part to purge the administration from the reproach of dilatoriness or indifference to the commercial development of the country, if such reproach is still thought to appertain to it. There is no object that is more constantly in our minds than the desire to deal both with promptitude and sympathy with every reasonable mercantile or industrial claim.

But there are two obstacles to the expansion of which I have been speaking that I have yet to name. I hinted at the first just now. It is the inadequacy of our trained staff. After an experience of four years in this country, I do not hesitate to say that we are trying to run this Empire with a staff that would be considered inadequate in a second-class European kingdom. We came here as traders, we developed into conquerors, and long since we were turned into administrators. But now the Government of India are expected to be much more. We are required to be up-to-date and to know everything about agriculture, commerce, emigration, labour, shipping, customs, the application of science to every form of production, the secrets of coal, iron, steel, salt, oil, tea, cotton, indigo, and jute. The fact is that we have not yet expanded to the needs of the

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new situation. You cannot in a moment take a race of specially trained administrators and expect them to develop the capacities of the merchant. Gradually, but surely, we shall make things right. I am the last man to propose the multiplication of posts or the creation of sinecures. But it is clear to me that we must systematise and specialise our work far more than we have hitherto done. We must have special departments and special men over them to deal with special jobs; instead of allowing technical subjects to be dealt with at the end of a day's work by a tired-out civilian. Already in my time we have done a good deal in this respect. We have placed Education and Archæology under expert heads. We have brought out mining experts to inspect our mines. We have imported a Government architect to purify our egregious taste. We have created a Department of Agriculture with an Inspector-General at its head; and we now propose, with the aid of the munificent donation that I recently received from a wealthy American gentleman, Mr. Phipps, to unify in one place all the various departments of scientific investigation in connection with agriculture.[1]

I have long had my eye on railways, and it has always been my hope, before I leave India, to do something to introduce a more commercial and a less purely departmental element into their administration, though I might be speaking here at midnight were I to embark upon that discussion now. Finally, there is the

[1] This was the first explicit announcement by an Indian Viceroy of that which has been for years the main shortcoming of the Indian Government, and was also one of the principal reforms of Lord Curzon's Administration. In addition to the expert appointments here named, the following were also created during his term of office: Chief Inspector of Mines, Inspector-General of Volunteers, Government Architect, Imperial Librarian, Government Electrical Adviser, Director of Criminal Intelligence Department, Sanitary Commissioner, Director-General of Commercial Intelligence, Director of Central Research Institute, Inspector-General of Irrigation. These appointments were necessitated to meet the rapidly expanding needs of the Administration, and it is certain that as time passes more must follow.

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proposal about which we have been in consultation with your Chamber, namely, the creation of the Commercial Bureau. I saw somewhere or other that I was expected to make a pronouncement on the subject to-night. I am sorry to say that that is not in my power; for the case is now with the Secretary of State, who has not yet replied, but whose acceptance of the general principle of the scheme may, I think, be taken for certain. But, sir, there is one thing to my mind even more important than the scheme itself, and that is the man who is to be its head. You will add very materially to the services that you have already rendered both to the commercial world and to Government, and which have so recently met with a most popular recognition in the title that you now wear, if you can enable me to put my finger on the man. I want the very best individual in India for the job: and I have no prejudices whatever as to the source from which I take him.[1]

I said a little while back that there was another obstacle to rapid progress with which I yet had to deal. It is connected with the subject of native capital, to which I also promised to refer. The other day I was preaching to a very different audience at Delhi from the text that, if Indian art is to be regenerated, it must be by Indian patronage. I think I might deliver a sermon from a similar text here, and might plead to the natives of India that, if the industrial and economic development of this country is to proceed at the pace that they with us desire, it can only be by the employment of Indian capital for the purpose. I have seen calculations to the effect that the hoarded wealth of this country amounts to over 825 crores of rupees. Whether these figures are correct or not, they represent an approximation to the truth. Think of all this

[1] The scheme for a Commercial Bureau was ultimately expanded into the proposal for a new Department of Commerce and Industry, which was accepted by the Secretary of State and carried into effect in 1904-5, after the necessary Bill had been passed by the House of Commons.

money lying idle, or at most put out to usury and to relatively unproductive forms of investment. It makes one almost shudder to think of the opportunities lost. But what astonishes me still more is that those who hoard this wealth, who tie up their talents in a napkin and bury them under ground, are never so vocal as when they are denouncing the introduction of English capital into India to fill the gap which their own timidity or indifference has left open. To me the argument that the influx of foreign capital into India is a source of impoverishment, and that it drains away the wealth of the country, has always seemed to be a foolish and a dangerous illusion: foolish, because it ignores the rudiments of economic science; dangerous, because it is calculated to retard the development which it affects to have in view. Even assuming it to be true, then why do not those who plead for the use of native capital employ it? There is not an Englishman in this country who would not welcome the help. It is with positive delight that I witness the efforts of the small group of enlightened Indians who have risen superior to the out-of-date alarms of their countrymen, and who in Bombay, in Nagpur, in other places, and to some extent in Calcutta and Bengal, are devoting their wealth to the regeneration of their own country, and, instead of girding at the English for having got the start, or talking copy-book fallacies about the economic drain, are endeavouring to keep the interest of capital in the country by providing and sinking the capital itself. When I hear the employment of British capital in India deplored, I feel tempted to ask where without it would have been Calcutta? Where would have been Bombay? Where would have been our railways, our shipping, our river navigation, our immense and prosperous trade? And why should a different argument be applied to India from any other country in the world? When Great Britain poured her wealth into South America and China, I have never heard those countries complain that they were being ruined. No

one pities Egypt when a foreign nation resuscitates her industries and dams the Nile. It was foreign capital and foreign brains that exploited the industries of Russia, which are now beginning to be a source of such profit to that country. When America floods England, as she is doing, with the resources of her accumulated capital, her amazing inventiveness, and her commercial genius, none of us at home sits down and bewails our cruel lot at being bled by a foreign drain. I therefore would say to the people of this country—if my words could have the slightest effect—look facts in the face. Recognise that capital does not wrap itself in the flag of any one country. It is international. It is like the wind which bloweth where it listeth, and comes and goes as it will. The whole industrial and mercantile world is one great field for the tiller to till: and if the man who lives on the spot will not cultivate it with his own spade, then he has no right to blame the outsider who enters it with his plough. Of course the country is in the strongest position whose capital is self-generated and self-employed; and it is for this reason that I say that the first duty of the patriotic Indian, instead of carping at those who have profited by his neglect, is to enter the field, though late in the day, himself, and to utilise the wealth that he has inherited or acquired for the benefit and the development of his own people.

I have detained you a very long time, and I may now bring these over-lengthy remarks to a close. You have said, sir, that it is my endeavour to see things through. Yes, I confess that I like the *res gesta*, the thing done. While others are preaching efficiency, I think more highly of the man who practises it. I have never claimed the merit of the first discovery in anything that I have attempted in this country. Wiser brains have started the ideas long ago. More prudent hands have sped them on their way. But at least let me drive the machine a few laps forward in my time.

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Not in vain the distance beacons.
Forward, forward let us range,
Let the great world spin for ever
Down the ringing grooves of change.

If I thought it were all for nothing, and that you and I, Englishmen and Scotchmen and Irishmen in this country, were simply writing inscriptions on the sand to be washed out by the next tide, if I felt that we were not working here for the good of India in obedience to a higher law and to a nobler aim, then I would see the link that holds England and India together severed without a sigh. But it is because I believe in the future of this country, and in the capacity of our own race to guide it to goals that it has never hitherto attained, that I keep courage and press forward. You and I may not live to see the day when these hopes are fulfilled. But fifty years hence, when the Bengal Chamber of Commerce is celebrating its centenary, and when a still more powerful and more numerous body entertains the Viceroy of that day at an even larger banquet in a more commodious hall, I am sanguine enough to believe that it will be in his power to point to the realisation of some at least of the predictions in which I have indulged this evening, and to congratulate your successors upon the ever-expanding range of your influence and the fruition of your toil.

FAREWELL ADDRESS FROM BOMBAY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

On November 8, 1905, the Viceroy made the following speech, summing up the financial and commercial position in India at the close of his Viceroyalty in reply to a Farewell Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

It is impossible for me to receive the Address which you have just read without recognising that it is no

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ordinary or perfunctory document, but that it constitutes one of the most remarkable tributes emanating from an exceedingly representative body of public men, engaged in almost every walk of business, and representing one of the great commercial communities of the British Empire, that can ever have been offered to a departing Governor-General. When you say of that Governor-General that during his term of office the barrier that seemed some years ago to divide Government from commerce has been completely broken down, and that his administration will be long remembered for the active interest that he has taken in all that concerns internal affairs, and for the confidence that he has inspired in every branch of commercial life—while I cannot feel that I deserve these generous words, I yet should be made of dull clay if I were not proud to receive them. For I am conscious that in India commerce has not always opened its arms in this way to Government or the representatives of Government, while I am also aware that the sentiments which you express reflect a revulsion of feeling that is not confined to Bombay, but has spread from one end of India to another, inaugurating a happier era in which the development of this great country is regarded as the combined work and the equal duty of all those, official or unofficial, whose lot is cast within its borders.

I propose to respond to your confidence by a few remarks upon the present commercial position of India, suggested by what you yourselves have said and summarising in a convenient form the situation as it now appears to me to be. The first condition of sound finance, and the first aim of our financial administration in India, has been the foundation of a sound monetary system. Here I profited by the wisdom of my predecessors in closing the Mints as far back as 1893, and by the advice of the London Committee that sat and reported during my first year of office. We were able in consequence to introduce the gold standard, and we have ever since maintained a stable exchange. But

currency reform, however urgent in itself, was only the condition of wider improvements and larger aims, and the moment we had obtained it, it ceased to be an end in itself, and became the means by which the economic and industrial progress of the country might be pursued upon a score of parallel lines. Each of these lines might with equal truth be regarded as part of a great scheme of financial reorganisation or of economic development or of efficient administration. Thus we directed ourselves among other objects to a scheme of greatly accelerated Railway construction, believing that there is no more provident employment of public funds. The highest total mileage hitherto recorded in any Viceroyalty has been 3928; in mine we have laid 6110 miles, bringing up the total mileage in India to 28,150, and I believe and hope that these figures will be exceeded by my successors. The highest capital outlay in any previous Viceroyalty has been 47¼ crores; we have expended nearly 60 crores, bringing up the total capital sunk in Indian railways to 240 millions sterling. There has never before been a railway surplus; the aggregate railway surpluses of the past six years have amounted to 4½ millions sterling. One of the most pressing and severely felt difficulties in Indian railways has for long been the deficiency of rolling stock. Exclusive of large orders now under construction, we have provided an increase of 28 per cent in engines, 21 per cent in passenger cars, and 33 per cent in goods waggons. We have placed before the Secretary of State a railway expenditure programme for the next three years, under the Triennial Programme scheme which, as you know, is one of our achieved reforms, of no less than 15 crores in each year, or a total of 30 millions sterling. These results and these prospects—for which I must not be understood to claim the smallest personal credit, for had any one else been standing in my place he would have been able to say the same—are, I think, of a thoroughly satisfactory nature. They show genuine progress made, and they are full of promise for the future. The net

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income of our railways has indeed been growing three times as fast as the interest on our capital liabilities. The railway property of the Government of India is in my view a magnificent asset, as fine as any in the world; and we may safely banish the nervous fears that have sometimes inspired the responsible authorities as to the risks of borrowing more freely for railway extension. Take our 4 crores loan of the past summer, raised in this country mainly for these purposes. It was covered nearly five times over, and we could have raised nearly 5 crores on almost the same terms as we raised four. I hope that this experience will encourage the Government of India to a bolder policy in the future. When we had to pay a high price for our loans, when the Indian money market did not exhibit its present elasticity, and when our railways were themselves not a paying concern, there was a good excuse for timidity. But I think that a policy of greater confidence and courage is now required, and I have endeavoured to inaugurate it. You have been good enough to allude to the considerable administrative reform which has accompanied this history of progress, and which will, I trust, be an efficient agency for guiding it, namely, the creation of the Railway Board. It would be absurd to pretend that this idea was mine or that of any one now in India. Years ago I remember reading all about it in Sir G. Chesney's admirable book, and from the day that I laid down charge of the Public Works Department in the summer of 1899, having held it a few months in order to obtain a grasp of the business, I was bent upon getting a Board, as the indispensable condition of business-like management and quick and intelligent control. It only remained to seize the psychological moment and to work out a plan adapted to our present needs.

I might draw a similarly rosy picture of the prospects of Irrigation and the outlay upon it. But I dealt with this subject in my Budget speech of March last, and will not repeat myself to-day.

Neither will I say anything about other features of our commercial and industrial policy, such as the imposition of countervailing duties on sugar, our pronouncement on preferential tariffs, our attitude towards local industries as instanced by the Tea Cess Act, the tea and indigo grants, and the encouragement to iron and steel works, our hitherto unsuccessful but still unabandoned attempts to readjust the machinery and to remove some of the restrictions of our existing banking system, our reform of the Customs Department and creation of a single Imperial Customs Service, largely due to suggestions from Bombay, or even the creation of the new Commerce and Industry Department, which has already in so short a time been so gratifying a success, owing no doubt very greatly to the fact that we came prowling down to Bombay and took some of your best men to assist us in starting the venture.

I will not say more of any of these topics, because they would encroach too much upon my limited space; but I should like to add a word upon two subjects, the policy of the Government of India, which you have noticed with special satisfaction.

The first of them is the reduction of Telegraphic charges. This is a matter to which I attach the very highest importance, and of which I can truthfully say that I have assumed personal charge sometimes in the face of no small difficulty. I believe in the reduction of cable rates to Europe, because a cheap tariff is the greatest instrument of Imperial unification that can be devised. It has been brought down from 4s. to 2s. a word in my time. But it must go lower still. If there were a cheap rate, say of 6d. a word—and of course press messages would be cheaper—between England and India, the almost indescribable ignorance that prevails in each country about the other, and which is often the despair of the friends of both, could no longer exist. I am not sure that the task of Government would be rendered easier—perhaps the reverse; but the relations of the two peoples, commercial, social, and sentimental,

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could not fail to become more intimate. On similar grounds I have been an earnest advocate of reduction of internal rates in India. Since the changes were made two years ago, there has been an increase of 30 per cent in private messages in India, while the stimulus given to press traffic may be shown by the fact that in a single year the total number of words jumped up from 7,680,000 to 14,000,000, or an increase of between 80 and 90 per cent. I believe in giving news to the people —some persons, I know, do not; and I sometimes rub my eyes and wonder where my imaginary reactionary tendencies, in this respect at any rate, are supposed to come in.

The other subject to which I referred was Agriculture, in the development of which you were good enough to say that I had taken the greatest interest. I was pleased to read in an Address from a Chamber of Commerce so frank a recognition of the momentous importance of this subject, because in the last resort the welfare of the agricultural population is just as vital to you as it is to the Government of India. What have we been doing for agriculture? I do not speak for the moment about land revenue assessments or collections, or remissions, or *takavi* grants, or the many ways in which we have tried to make things easier for the Indian cultivator. Our real reform has been to endeavour for the first time to apply science on a large scale to the study and practice of Indian agriculture. It is quite true that the Indian peasant, perhaps the Guzerat peasant in particular, knows, as well as any peasant in the world, how to make the most of the soil and of the fruits of tillage. In his way he is a hereditary expert. But his greatest admirer cannot pretend that he knows anything of scientific discovery or experiment, while not even the most hide-bound conservative can give any good reason why India should be the only agricultural country in the world to which the lessons of research are incapable of being applied. Anyhow, we are doing our best to apply them; and one of my last acts, in pursuit of the

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special grant of 20 lakhs per annum to provincial agriculture which we gave for the first time this year, and are going to continue and possibly to increase, has been to address the Secretary of State and propose to him a great scheme for establishing in every province an agricultural college and research station, with a farm attached to it, where agriculture may be studied both in the laboratory and in the field. Each province will then have its own director of agriculture and its own expert staff; and in each distinctive agricultural tract there will be an experimental farm under a trained agriculturist. Everywhere the object will be the same, namely, to bring the staff in touch with the cultivator, so that knowledge may pass up and down between them. In this way we shall, I hope, provide a training for hundreds and thousands of the young men of the country. Indeed, we shall soon train our own experts, without having to import them; and we cannot fail to make discoveries and to introduce reforms that will quicken the entire future of Indian agriculture.

The sum total of my own experience in the last seven years is to send me away a convinced optimist as to the economic and industrial prospects of this country. I suppose we shall never be free from the chantings of that dismal chorus who spend their time in lamenting the poverty and sufferings of India, without, so far as I can see, doing very much that is practical to remedy the evils of which they complain. Never let us shut our eyes to the poverty and the misery. But do not let us be so blind to the truth as not to see that there is an enormous improvement, that there is everywhere more money in the country, in circulation, in reserves, in investments, in deposits, and in the pockets of the people; that the wages of labour have risen, that the standards of living among the poorest have gone up, that they employ conveniences and even luxuries which a quarter of a century ago were undreamed of, thereby indicating an all-round increase of purchasing power, and that wherever taxation could be held to pinch we have

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reduced it, and may perhaps be able to do more. It is only fairness to acknowledge these facts; it is blind prejudice to ignore them. I can put the matter in a form which will appeal to you as business men by some figures which I have had prepared. I will not take the period of my own term of office, because the whole point of my argument is that the improvement dates from the closing of the Mints by Lord Lansdowne and Sir D. Barbour; and though it is in my time that the fruits have been mainly reaped, the seeds were sown by them. I will contrast therefore in each case the figures of 1893-4 and those of 1904-5. The capital sunk by Government in railways and irrigation works has increased by 56 per cent in that interval; that invested by joint-stock companies in industrial undertakings by 23 per cent. The Savings Banks deposits have gone up by 43 per cent, the private deposits in Presidency Banks by 71 per cent, the deposits in other joint-stock banks by 130 per cent, the deposits in Exchange Banks by 95 per cent, Government paper held in India by 29 per cent, the amount invested in Local Authorities debentures by 90 per cent. The amount of income on which income tax is assessed—excluding at both periods the incomes now exempted—has increased by 29 per cent, the rupee circulation by 27 per cent, the note circulation in active use by 68 per cent. The net absorption of gold in the ten years preceding the two dates of inquiry, namely, 1893-4 and 1904-5, shows an increase of 120 per cent in the later, of silver 136 per cent. The total value of Indian imports has gone up 35 per cent, of exports 48 per cent. The productive debt has increased in the same period by 69 crores, but the non-productive debt has decreased by 16 crores. Now these figures, which I have had specially prepared for you, are worth thinking over. From whatever point of view you regard them, bearing in mind that these considerable and in some cases amazing increases have occurred in a period in which the increase in the population has only been 4 per cent, it is impossible to deny their collective testimony

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to an advance in every test that can be applied to the progress of a nation, which is without example in the previous history of India, and rare in the history of any people. It is indeed a magnificent property that I am handing over to my successor, and may he faithfully and diligently guard it.

END OF VOL. I

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